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MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS:

CONTAINING,

AMONG A VARIETY OF OTHER ARTICLES,

History of the Yellow Fever, which prevailed in Philadelphia in the Year 1793; containing a full Account of its Rise, Progress, and Termination, with various Anecdotes, illustrative of the State of Society.

Review of the Evidence of the pretended General Conspiracy of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to massacre all the Protestants who would not join with them, on the 23d of October, 1641.

Reflections on the subject of Emigration from Europe, with a view to a Settlement in the United States, containing a Brief Sketch of the moral and political State of this Country.

Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia, intended to vindicate the Benevolent Societies of this City from the Charge of encouraging Idleness.

A Brief View of the Policy of the Founders of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as regards Liberty of Conscience.

Critical Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet.

Vindication of Sterne from the Charge of Plagiarism, &c. &c.

COLLECTA REVIRESCUNT.

"HOMO SUM. HUMANI A ME NIL ALIENUM PUTO."
TERENCE.

BY M. CAREY,

Member of the American Philosophical and Antiquarian Societies, and Author of Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, the Olive Branch, &c. &c.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR CAREY & HART.
Nov. 13, 1830.

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PREFACE.

THERE is, I believe, a great difference between the feelings of a writer, when he first determines on publication, and when his labours are completed, and he is about to submit them to the fiery ordeal of public examination, or perhaps, which is far worse, to public indifference. At the former period, the bright side of the prospect alone occupies his mind. His hopes of success far outweigh his fears of failure. But at the latter, a great reverse takes place. The terrors of rigid critics, many of whom delight in wounding the feelings of the object of their criticism—the efforts of secret enemies—and the consequent probability of his labours "falling still-born from the press" arise in dread array before his mental vision—give him many an ague fit—and make him repent of his temerity, and wish he had otherwise employed his time.

Whether this be, as I suppose, correct with respect to other writers, it is literally true as regards myself. If I felt a few months since, as I now feel, on the subject, the materials which compose this volume would probably have remained, till my death, where some of them have lain twenty, thirty, forty and even fifty years.

But "the Rubicon is passed." It is too late to regret the course pursued—and to whatever reception the volume may receive, I must submit. I make no attempt to deprecate criticism, or to remove the apathy with which works of this miscellaneous character are generally received. I shall, however, be gratified, if certain portions of it be found to possess sufficient interest in some degree to bear up and rescue from condemnation, the light and trivial portions.

To chronological order attention ought perhaps to have been paid. I regret that it has been wholly neglected. In consequence, some of the articles written forty, and one fifty years since, which ought to have begun the book, are placed at its very close.

The miscellaneous scraps are articles with which I used to relax from the fatigues of business, and which I furnished to the Port Folio, the Emporium, &c. On passing a cursory glance over them at present, I find that some of them are too trite and trifling, and ought not to have found a place in the volume. These I resign to their merited condemnation.

Some of the various projects I have formed (I have been a great projector) for the public benefit, are introduced, although they have proved abortions—in the hope that some fortunate person may, perhaps when I am in the grave, attempt them under more favourable auspices. One, on the success of which I counted largely, and which would have been highly beneficial, is the plan for the republication, and distribution gratuitously, of English pamphlets (and of some American ones of too limited circulation) calculated to advance the best interests of society, and promote human happiness. (See page 401.) English pamphlets, whatever may be their merit, are scarcely ever—I might almost say never—republished in this country, because pamphlets rarely defray their expenses. And booksellers are mere traders, who cannot in justice be expected to republish articles by which the chances of loss are as a hundred to one. I flattered myself I could find twenty persons in Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, who would patronize this plan. I was grievously mistaken. *I found but four!* It would excite the most profound astonishment and regret, were I to mention the names of several gentlemen of the first rank in society, in point of wealth, acquired and acquiring—reputation—and influence, to whom the project was submitted, and by whom it was rejected, although the subscription was limited to twenty-five dollars per annum, and obligatory only for one year, if the parties disapproved its execution or results. Some of the pamphlets contemplated would be infinitely beneficial to the country, and I think I might say worth their weight in gold. Works on religious controversy, politics, and political economy, were to have been entirely excluded.

The failure of the plan of the Annals of Benevolence (page 399)

is more extraordinary. *This required no money from the parties addressed.* They were published gratuitously, so far as they went, wholly at my expense, and would have been so continued, had I been furnished with materials, which I sought in vain from persons who could and ought to have supplied them copiously. And in an age, when—it is unhappily but too true—"the besetting sin" of the times is a thirst for wealth, the dissemination of illustrious instances of charity, generosity, liberality, and magnanimity, (of which, spite of the opposite current, numerous cases occur) could not fail to have a salutary effect by way of example. I have published three series, each of three numbers, in 1823, 1826, and 1829, and for the whole have not received as much matter as would fill three pages—and *not a line for the last.* I have had to depend almost altogether on the newspapers, which, although they abound in instances of turpitude and atrocity—murders, rapes, and arsons—collected with industry, at home and abroad, and every where republished, forming a pestilential moral atmosphere—are too barren in cases calculated for the purpose of the Annals of Benevolence.

The failure of the plan urged on the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of republishing old and rare pamphlets and books respecting the antiquities of this country, (see page 246) which could have been accomplished *without expense or risque to the Society*, is, I think, to be regretted. Those important articles are becoming yearly more and more rare, and effectual means ought to be taken, as early as possible, for their preservation.

I regret, likewise, the failure of the plan for preventing the spread of fires, (see page 289) which has three as strong recommendations as any plan ever had—it is simple, perfectly practicable, and would be completely effectual.

Philadelphia, November 13, 1830.

N. B. Politics and political economy are wholly excluded from this volume, except two or three pages on the latter subject.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

MALIGNANT FEVER

WHICH PREVAILED IN PHILADELPHIA,

IN THE YEAR 1793:

WITH A

Statement of the Proceedings

THAT TOOK PLACE ON THE SUBJECT,

IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY M. CAREY.

FIFTH EDITION, IMPROVED.

PHILADELPHIA:
CLARK & RASER, PRINTERS, 33 CARTER'S ALLEY.
1830.

At a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia, the Northern Liberties, and District of Southwark, assembled on Saturday, the 22d day of March, 1794, at the City Hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the report of their committee, appointed to prepare an instrument expressive of the most cordial, grateful, and fraternal thanks of the citizens of Philadelphia, to their Committee of Health, for the important, hazardous, and successful services by them rendered, during the calamity that lately afflicted the city and liberties, the following form was unanimously adopted and agreed to:

Whereas it hath pleased the supreme Ruler and Governor of the Universe to permit, during the months of August, September, and October last, a most dreadful visitation or epidemic malady to afflict the city and liberties of Philadelphia, in such manner that it is supposed that not less than five thousand of the inhabitants thereof have fallen victims to the same: and whereas the following citizens of Philadelphia, as guardians of the poor, to wit, *James Wilson, Jacob Jenkins*, and *William Sansom;* and the following persons, as a committee of health, to wit, *Matthew Clarkson, Stephen Girard, John Letchworth, John Haworth, Thomas Savery, Henry Deforest, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Caleb Lowndes, Peter Helm, James Kerr, James Swaine, Jacob Witman, John Connelly, Daniel Offley, Thomas Wistar, Israel Israel, James Sharswood, Mathew Carey, Samuel Benge, Andrew Adgate, and Joseph Inskeep;* and the following persons, members of the Assistant Committee of Health, in the Northern Liberties and district of Southwark, to wit, *William P. Sprague, William Gregory, John Burns, Jacob Winnemore, and Shubart Armitage;* totally disregarding their own personal preservation, and only intent on arresting the progress of the malignant disorder, with a magnanimity and patriotism meriting the highest eulogiums, stood forth, and by every generous and endearing exertion, preserved the lives of many of their fellow citizens from death, by conveying them to a suitable hospital which they had provided at Bushhill for their reception; where, under the meritorious exertions and peculiar care of *Stephen Girard* and *Peter Helm*, two of the citizens above named, every possible comfort was provided for the sick, and decent burial for those whom their efforts could not preserve from the ravages of the prevailing distemper. In order, therefore, to perpetuate the memory of such distinguished usefulness to distant times, and to serve as an example and encouragement to others to emulate the like beneficent virtues, should it ever unfortunately again become necessary to practise them:—the citizens of Philadelphia, the districts of Southwark and Northern Liberties, do, by this instrument, present to the above named William Sansom, as a guardian of the poor; to the above named Matthew Clarkson, Caleb Lowndes, Thomas Wistar, Stephen Girard, Peter Helm, Israel Israel, John Letchworth, James Kerr, James Sharswood, John Haworth, James Swaine, Mathew Carey, Thomas Savery, Jacob Witman, Samuel Benge, Henry Deforest, and John Connelly, as a Committee of Health; and to the above named William P. Sprague, William Gregory, Joseph Burns, Jacob Winnemore, and Shubart Armitage, as members of the Assistant Committee of Health; their most cordial, grateful, and fraternal thanks, for their benevolent and patriotic exertions in relieving the miseries of suffering humanity on the late occasion. And as Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Joseph Inskeep, and Daniel Offley, members of the Committee of Health; and James Wilson and Jacob Jenkins, members of the Assistant Committee of Health, unfortunately fell victims to their generous exertions for the preservation of the inhabitants, it is hoped that their great services will be held in everlasting remembrance by the citizens, to whose welfare they so nobly devoted themselves, even unto death; and that this will be evidenced on all proper occasions, in a suitable attention to their surviving relatives.

Ordered, That a copy of this instrument be duly engrossed upon parchment, signed by the Chairman of the meeting, and presented to each of the persons above named, and to the representatives of the deceased overseers of the poor and members of the committees above named, to remain with them as a memorial of the sense their fellow citizens entertain of the services rendered them, during the late dreadful calamity.

March 22d, 1794. THO. M'KEAN, *Chairman.*

SHORT ACCOUNT

OF THE

MALIGNANT FEVER,

PREVALENT IN THE YEAR 1793,

IN THE

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Philadelphia, November 13, 1793.

THE favourable reception given to the very imperfect account of the fever which I lately published, and the particular desire of some of my friends, have induced me to undertake a more satisfactory history of it, in order to collect together, while facts are recent, as many of the most interesting occurrences of this awful visitation as I could, for the information of the public.

I have not attempted any embellishment or ornament of style; but have merely aimed at telling plain facts in plain language. I have taken every precaution to arrive at the truth; and hope the errors in the account will not be found numerous.

For the desultory plan of some part of the pamphlet, I have to offer the following apology; many of the circumstances and reflections towards the conclusion, which appertained with more propriety to the beginning, did not occur, until some of the first half sheets were not only written, but printed. I had no choice, therefore, but either to omit them, or place them somewhat out of order. I preferred the latter.

A large portion of the facts mentioned have fallen under my own observation. Those of a different description, I have been assiduous to collect from every person of credibility, possessed of information.

Desirous of having this account correct and complete, I have printed off but a small number of copies of the present edition: and shall esteem myself most particularly obliged to any person who will be so kind to point out errors, to be corrected in, or

suggest facts, to be added to, a new edition, which I propose to put to press very soon, and which will, I hope, be found more ample than the present one.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.*

November 23, 1793.

When I published the first edition of this pamphlet, it was my intention to have greatly enlarged it for a second one, and to have new-modelled it, so as to preserve a connexion between its several parts, in which it is extremely deficient. But its speedy sale, and the demand for more copies, render it impossible for me to do more, at present, than make such corrections as the kindness of a few friends has led them to point out.

In giving an account of the proceedings that took place on the subject of the disorder, throughout the union, I have suppressed many a harsh comment, which was forcing itself on me; from the reflection, that in similar circumstances, we might perhaps have been equally severe. And to perpetuate animosities, is performing a very unfriendly office. They are easily generated; but their extinction is a work of time and difficulty. Let us, therefore, (especially when we "hold the mirror up to nature" at home,) not only forgive, but even forget, if possible, all the unpleasant treatment our citizens have experienced.

I have heard more than one person object to the account of the shocking circumstances that occurred in Philadelphia, as portraying the manners of the people in an unfavourable light. If that be the case, the fault is not mine. I am conscious I have not exaggerated the matter. But I do not conceive it can have that effect; for it would be as unjust as injudicious to draw the character of Philadelphia from the proceedings of a period of horror and affright, when all the "mild charities of social life" were suppressed by regard for self, as to stamp eternal infamy on a nation, for the atrocities perpetrated in times of civil broils, when all the "angry passions" are roused into dreadful and ferocious activity.

* A large portion of this edition was sent to Europe, chiefly by merchants and traders, to their correspondents, to justify, by the calamitous state of affairs and the consequent suspension of business, the failure of remittances. Besides those sent with such views, numbers were sent to friends abroad for the gratification of their curiosity.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

November 30, 1793.

THIS pamphlet comes before the public a third time, and, in some measure, in a new form. I have reduced it to as methodical a state, as in my power, but not as much so as I could wish, nor, I fear, as the reader may expect. To one merit only do I lay claim in the compilation; that is, of having meant well. If, on a fair perusal, the candid allow that claim, I shall be satisfied to have the execution censured with all the severity of which criticism is capable. However, I beg leave to inform the reader, that this day ends one month, since the writing of the pamphlet commenced. I know that the shortness of the time employed, is no justification of a bad performance; but it may somewhat extenuate the defects of a middling one.

I have found several objections made to parts of it. Most of them I have removed. Some few, resting on the sentiments of individuals, directly contrary to my own judgment, I have passed over. For, until my reason is convinced, I cannot change my opinion for that of any person whatever.

To those gentlemen who have been so kind to furnish me with facts to enlarge and improve the work, I profess myself under great obligations. I request them to continue their kindness; as, if public favour should give this trifle a fourth edition, I shall add all that may be communicated in the interim; otherwise I shall probably publish separately what may be worthy of the public eye.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

Jan. 16, 1794.

THE uncommon degree of favour which this pamphlet has experienced, has impressed me with lively sentiments of gratitude. As the only proper return in my power, I have, in each successive edition, used every endeavour to improve it.

In the number of victims to the late calamity, there were many strangers,—among whom were probably some, by whose

death, estates have fallen to heirs at a distance. It being, therefore, of great importance to extend and improve the list of the dead, and to remedy the extreme inaccuracy of the sextons' returns, I employed suitable persons to go through the city and liberties, and make inquiry at every house, without exception, for the names and occupations of the dead. The disobliging temper of some, and the fears of others, that an improper use would be made of the information they could have given, have, in various instances, defeated my purpose. Imperfect, however, as the list still remains, I hope it will be found useful in removing anxious doubts, and conveying to persons in different countries, the melancholy information of the decease of relatives, which, but for such a channel of communication, would, in many cases, be difficult, if not impossible to acquire for years to come.*

---

* The list here referred to, contained nearly 2,500 names, but is omitted in this fifth edition as no longer necessary.

March 1, 1830.

A SHORT ACCOUNT, &c.

CHAPTER I.

State of Philadelphia previous to the appearance of the Malignant Fever—with a few observations on some of the consequences of that calamity.

Before I enter on the consideration of this disorder, it may not be improper to offer a few introductory remarks on the situation of Philadelphia previous to its commencement, which will reflect light on some of the circumstances mentioned in the course of the narrative.

The manufactures, trade, and commerce of this city, had, for a considerable time, been improving and extending with great rapidity. From the period of the adoption of the federal government, at which time America was at the lowest ebb of distress, her situation had progressively become more and more prosperous. Confidence, formerly banished, was universally restored. Property of every kind rose to, and in many instances beyond, its real value: and a few revolving years exhibited the interesting spectacle of a young country, with a new form of government, emerging from a state which had approached very near to anarchy, and acquiring all the stability and nerve of the best-toned and oldest nations.

In this prosperity, which revived the almost extinguished hopes of four millions of people, Philadelphia participated in an eminent degree. Numbers of new houses, in almost every street, built in a very neat, elegant style, adorned, at the same time that they greatly enlarged, the city. Its population was extending fast. House-rent had risen to an extravagant height; it was in many cases double, and in some treble what it had been a year or two before; and, as is generally the case, when a city is advancing in prosperity, it far exceeded the real increase of trade. The number of applicants for houses, exceeding the number of houses to be let, one bid over another; and affairs were in such a situation, that many people, though they

had a tolerable run of business, could hardly do more than clear their rents, and were, literally, toiling for their landlords alone. Luxury, the usual, and perhaps inevitable concomitant of prosperity, was gaining ground in a manner very alarming to those who considered how far the virtue, the liberty, and the happiness of a nation depend on its temperance and sober manners. Many of our citizens had been, for some time, in the imprudent habit of regulating their expenses by prospects formed in sanguine hours, when every probability was caught at as a certainty, not by their actual profits, or income. The number of coaches, coachees, chairs, &c., lately set up by men in the middle rank of life, is hardly credible. Not to enter into a minute detail, let it suffice to remark, that extravagance, in various forms, was gradually eradicating the plain and wholesome habits of the city.

However, from November, 1792, to the end of last June, the difficulties of Philadelphia were extreme. The establishment of the Bank of Pennsylvania, in embryo for the most part of that time, had arrested in the two other banks such a quantity of the circulating specie, as embarrassed almost every kind of business; to this was added the distress arising from the very numerous failures in England, which had extremely harassed several of our capital merchants. During this period, many men experienced as great difficulties as were ever known in this city.* But the commencement, in July, of the operations of the Bank of Pennsylvania, conducted on the most generous and enlarged principles, placed business on its former favourable footing. Every man looked forward to the coming autumn as likely to produce a vast extension of trade. But how fleeting are all human views! how uncertain all plans founded on earthly appearances! All these flattering prospects vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision."

In July, arrived the unfortunate fugitives from Cape François. And on this occasion, the liberality of Philadelphia was displayed in a most respectable point of light. Nearly 12,000 dollars were in a few days collected for their relief. Little

* It is with great pleasure, I embrace this opportunity of declaring, that the very liberal conduct of the Bank of the United States, at this trying season, was the means of saving many a deserving and industrious man from ruin. No similar institution was ever conducted on a more favourable, and at the same time, prudent plan, than this bank adopted at the time here mentioned.

alas! did many of the contributors, then in easy circumstances, imagine, that a few weeks would leave their wives and children dependent on public charity, as has since unfortunately happened:—an awful instance of the rapid and warning vicissitudes of affairs on this transitory stage.

About this time, the destroying scourge, the malignant fever, crept in among us, and nipped in the bud the fairest blossoms that imagination could form. And oh! what a dreadful contrast has since taken place! Many women, then in the lap of ease and contentment, are bereft of beloved husbands, and left with numerous families of children to maintain, unqualified for the arduous task—many orphans are destitute of parents to foster and protect them—many entire families are swept away, without leaving "a trace behind"—many of our first commercial houses are totally dissolved, by the death of the parties, and their affairs are necessarily left in so deranged a state, that the losses and distresses which must take place, are beyond estimation.*

* It cannot be improper to state some of the effects of this calamity beyond the sacrifice of life, so far as trade and commerce are concerned. The protests of notes for a few weeks past, have exceeded all former examples; for a great proportion of the merchants and traders having left the city, and been totally unable, from the stagnation of business, and the diversion of their expected resources, to make any provision for payment, most of their notes have been protested, as they became due. The Bank of the United States, on the 15th of October, passed a resolve, empowering the cashier to renew all discounted notes, when the same drawers and indorsers were offered, and declaring that no notes should be protested when the indorsers bound themselves in writing, to be accountable in the same manner as in cases of protest. The disadvantages resulting from this visitation extended far beyond Philadelphia. Many parts of Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, exclusive of the back settlements of Pennsylvania, and the western states, drew their supplies, if not wholly, at least principally, from Philadelphia, which was in general the mart whither they sent their produce. Cut off from this quarter, their merchants have had to seek out other markets, which being unprepared for such an increased demand, their supplies have been imperfect; and, owing to the briskness of the sales, the prices have been, naturally enough, very considerably enhanced. Besides, they went to places in which their credit was not established—and had in most cases to advance cash. And many country dealers have had no opportunity of sending their produce to market, which has consequently remained unsold. Business, therefore, has languished in many parts of the union; and it is probable, that, considering the matter merely in a commercial point of light, the shock caused by the fever, has been felt far to the south and west of this State.

CHAPTER II.

Symptoms—a slight Sketch of the Mode of Treatment.

"THE symptoms which characterized the first stage of the fever, were, in the greatest number of cases, after a chilly fit of some duration, a quick, tense pulse—hot skin—pain in the head, back, and limbs—flushed countenance—inflamed eye—moist tongue—oppression and sense of soreness at the stomach, especially upon pressure—frequent sick qualms, and retchings to vomit, without discharging any thing, except the contents last taken into the stomach—costiveness, &c. And when stools were procured, the first generally showed a defect of bile, or an obstruction to its entrance into the intestines. But brisk purges generally altered this appearance.

"These symptoms generally continued with more or less violence from one to three, four, or even five days; and then gradually abating, left the patient free from every complaint, except general debility. On the febrile symptoms suddenly subsiding, they were immediately succeeded by a yellow tinge in the opaque cornea, or whites of the eyes—an increased oppression at the præcordia—a constant puking of every thing taken into the stomach, with much straining, accompanied with a hoarse, hollow noise.

"If these symptoms were not soon relieved, a vomiting of matter, resembling coffee grounds in colour and consistence, commonly called the black vomit, sometimes accompanied with, or succeeded by hæmorrhages from the nose, fauces, gums, and other parts of the body—a yellowish purple colour, and putrescent appearance of the whole body, hiccup, agitations, deep and distressed sighing, comatose delirium, and finally, death. When the disease proved fatal, it was generally between the fifth and eighth days.

"This was the most usual progress of this formidable disease, through its several stages. There were, however, very considerable variations in the symptoms, as well as in the duration of its different stages, according to the constitution and temperament of the patient, the state of the weather, the manner of treatment, &c.

"In some cases, signs of putrescency appeared at the beginning, or before the end of the third day. In these, the black vomiting, which was generally a mortal symptom, and universal yellowness, appeared early. In these cases, also, a low delirium, and great prostration of strength, were constant symptoms, and coma came on very speedily.

"In some, the symptoms inclined more to the nervous than the inflammatory type. In these, the jaundiced colour of the eye and skin, and the black vomiting, were more rare. But in the majority of cases, particularly after the nights became sensibly cooler, all the symptoms indicated violent irritation and inflammatory diathesis. In these cases, the skin was always dry, and the remissions very obscure.

"The febrile symptoms, however, as has been already observed, either gave way on the third, fourth, or fifth day; and then the patient recovered; or they were soon after succeeded by a different, but much more dangerous train of symptoms, by debility, low pulse, cold skin, (which assumed a tawny colour, mixed with purple) black vomiting, hæmorrhages, hiccup, anxiety, restlessness, coma, &c. Many, who survived the eighth day, though apparently out of danger, died suddenly in consequence of an hæmorrhage."*

This disorder having been new to nearly all our physicians, it is not surprising, although it has been exceedingly fatal, that there arose such a discordance of sentiment on the proper mode of treatment, and even with respect to its name. Dr. Rush has acknowledged, with a candour that does him honour, that in the commencement, he so far mistook the nature of the disorder, that in his early essays, having depended on gentle purges of salts to purify the bowels of his patients, they all died. He then tried the mode of treatment adopted in the West Indies, viz. bark, wine, laudanum, and the cold bath, and failed in three cases out of four. Afterwards he had recourse to strong purges of calomel and jalap, and to bleeding, which he found attended with singular success.

The honour of the first essay of mercury in this disorder, is by many ascribed to Dr. Hodge and Dr. Carson, who are said to have employed it a week before Dr. Rush. On this point, I cannot pretend to decide. But whoever was the first to intro-

* For this account of the symptoms of the disorder, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Currie, from whose letter to Dr. Senter, it is extracted.

duce it, one thing is certain, that its efficacy was great, and rescued many from death. I have known, however, some persons, who, I have every reason to believe, fell sacrifices to the great reputation this medicine acquired; for in several instances it was administered in immoderate quantities, in which case, with persons of a previous lax habit, it brought on a speedy dissolution.

The demand for purges of calomel and jalap, was so great, that some of the apothecaries could not mix up every dose in detail; but mixed a large quantity of each, in the ordered proportions; and afterwards divided it into doses; by which means, it often happened that one patient had a much larger portion of calomel, and another of jalap, than was intended by the doctors. The fatal consequences of this may be easily conceived.

An intelligent citizen, who has highly distinguished himself by his attention to the sick, says, that he found the disorder generally come on with costiveness; and unless that was removed within the first twelve hours, he hardly knew any person to recover; on the contrary, he says, as few died, on whom the cathartics operated within that time.

The efficacy of bleeding, in all cases not attended with putridity, was great. The quantity of blood taken was in many cases astonishing. Dr. Griffits was bled seven times in five days, and appears to ascribe his recovery principally to that operation. Dr. Mease, in five days, lost seventy-two ounces of blood, by which he was recovered when at the lowest stage of the disorder. Many others were bled still more, and are now as well as ever they were.

Dr. Rush and Dr. Wistar have spoken very favourably of the salutary effects of cold air, and cool drinks, in this disorder. The latter says, that he found more benefit from cold air, than from any other remedy. He lay delirious, and in severe pain, between a window and a door, the former of which was open. The wind suddenly changed, and blew full upon him, cold and raw. Its effect was so grateful, that he soon recovered from his delirium—his pain left him—in an hour he became perfectly reasonable—and his fever abated.

A respectable citizen who had the fever himself, and likewise watched its effects on eleven of his family, who recovered from it, has informed me, that a removal of the sick from a close, warm room to one a few degrees cooler, which practice

he employed several times daily, produced a most extraordinary and favourable change in their appearance, in their pulse, and in their spirits.

CHAPTER III.

First Alarm in Philadelphia. Flight of the Citizens. Guardians of the Poor borne down with Labour.

It was some time before the disorder attracted public notice. It had in the meanwhile swept off many persons. The first death that was a subject of general conversation, was that of Peter Aston, on the 19th of August, after a few days illness. Mrs. Lemaigre's, on the day following, and Thomas Miller's, on the 25th, with those of some others, after short sicknesses, spread an universal terror.

The removals from Philadelphia began about the 25th or 26th of this month: and so great was the general terror, that, for some weeks, carts, wagons, coachees, gigs, and chairs, were almost constantly transporting families and furniture to the country in every direction. Many people shut up their houses wholly; others left servants to take care of them. Business became extremely dull. Mechanics and artists were unemployed; and the streets wore the appearance of gloom and melancholy.

The first official notice of the disorder, was on the 22d of August, on which day the Mayor of Philadelphia, Matthew Clarkson, Esq. wrote to the city commissioners; and after acquainting them with the state of the city, issued most peremptory orders, to have the streets properly cleaned and purified by the scavengers, and all the filth immediately hauled away. These orders were repeated on the 27th, and similar ones given to the clerks of the market.

The 26th of the same month, the college of physicians had a meeting, at which they took into consideration the nature of the disorder, and the means of prevention and of cure. They published an address to the citizens, signed by the president and secretary, recommending "to avoid all unnecessary intercourse with the infected; to place marks on the doors or windows where they were; to pay great attention to cleanliness and airing the rooms of the sick; to provide a large and airy

hospital in the neighbourhood of the city for their reception; to put a stop to the tolling of the bells; to convey to the burying ground, those who died of the disorder, in carriages, and as privately as possible; to keep the streets and wharves clean; to avoid all fatigue of body and mind, and standing or sitting in the sun, or in the open air; to accommodate the dress to the weather, and to exceed rather in warm than in cool clothing; and to avoid intemperance; but to use fermented liquors, such as wine, beer and cider, with moderation. They likewise declared their opinion, that fires in the streets were very dangerous, if not ineffectual means of stopping the progress of the fever, and that they placed more dependance on the burning of gunpowder. The benefits of vinegar and camphor, they added, were confined chiefly to infected rooms; and they could not be too often used on handkerchiefs, or in smelling bottles, by persons who attended the sick."

In consequence of this address, the bells were immediately stopped from tolling. The expedience of this measure was obvious; as they had before been almost constantly ringing the whole day, so as to terrify those in health, and drive the sick, as far as the influence of imagination could produce that effect, to their graves. An idea had gone abroad, that the burning of fires in the streets, would have a tendency to purify the air, and arrest the progress of the disorder. The people had, therefore, almost every night, large fires lighted at the corners of the streets. The 29th, the Mayor, conformably with the opinion of the college of physicians, published a proclamation, forbidding this practice. As a substitute, many had recourse to the firing of guns, which they imagined was a certain preventive of the disorder. This was carried so far, and attended with such danger, that it was forbidden by an ordinance of the Mayor.

The 29th, the Governor of the state wrote a letter to the Mayor, strongly enforcing the necessity of the most vigorous and decisive exertions "to prevent the extension of, and to destroy, the evil." He desired that the various directions given by the college of physicians, should be carried into effect. The same day, in his address to the legislature, he acquainted them, that a contagious disorder existed in the city; and that he had taken every proper measure to ascertain the origin, nature, and extent of it. He likewise assured them that the health-officer and physician of the port, would take every precaution to allay and remove the public inquietude.

The number of the infected daily increasing, and the existence of an order against the admission of persons labouring under infectious diseases into the Alms House, precluding them from a refuge there,* some temporary place was requisite; and three of the guardians of the poor, about the 26th of August, took possession of the circus, in which Mr. Ricketts had lately exhibited his equestrian feats, being the only place that could be then procured for the purpose. Thither they sent seven persons afflicted with the malignant fever, where they lay in the open air for some time, and without any assistance.† Of these, one crawled out on the commons, where he died at a distance from the houses. Two died in the circus, one of whom was seasonably removed; the other lay in a state of putrefaction for above forty-eight hours, owing to the difficulty of procuring a person to remove him. On this occasion occurred an instance of courage in a servant girl, of which at that time few men were capable. The carter, who finally undertook to remove the corpse, having no assistant, and being unable alone to put it into the coffin, was on the point of relinquishing his design, and quitting the place. The girl perceived him, and understanding the difficulty he laboured under, offered her services, provided he would not inform the family with whom she lived.‡ She accordingly helped him to put the body into the coffin, though it was, by that time, in the most loathsome state of putrefaction. It gives me pleasure to add, that she still lives, notwithstanding her very hazardous exploit.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the circus took the alarm, and threatened to burn or destroy it, unless the sick were removed; and it is believed they would have actually carried their threats into execution, had compliance been delayed a day longer.

The 29th, seven of the guardians of the poor had a conference with some of the city magistrates on the subject of the fever, at which it was agreed to be indispensably necessary,

* At this period, the number of paupers in the Alms House was between three and four hundred; and the managers, apprehensive of spreading the disorder among them, enforced the abovementioned order, which had been entered into a long time before. They, however, supplied beds and bedding, and all the money in their treasury, for their relief, out of that house.

† High wages were offered for nurses for these poor people,—but none could be procured.

‡ Had they known of the circumstance, an immediate dismissal would have been the consequence.

that a suitable house, as an hospital, should be provided near the city, for the reception of the infected poor.

In consequence, in the evening of the same day, the guardians of the poor agreed to sundry resolutions, viz. to use their utmost exertions to procure a house, of the above description, for an hospital, (out of town, and as near thereto as might be practicable, consistently with the safety of the inhabitants,) for the poor who were or might be afflicted with contagious disorders, and be destitute of the means of providing necessary assistance otherwise; to engage physicians, nurses, attendants, and all necessaries for their relief in that house; to appoint proper persons in each district, to inquire after such poor as might be afflicted; to administer assistance to them in their own houses, and, if necessary, to remove them to the hospital. They reserved to themselves, at the same time, the liberty of drawing on the Mayor for such sums as might be necessary to carry their plans into effect.

Conformably with these resolves, a committee of the guardians was appointed, to make inquiry for a suitable place; and on due examination, they judged that a building adjacent to Bushhill, the mansion house of William Hamilton, Esq. was the best calculated for the purpose. That gentleman was then absent, and had no agent in the city; and the great urgency of the case admitting no delay, eight of the guardians, accompanied by Hilary Baker, Esq. one of the city aldermen, with the concurrence of the Governor, proceeded, on the 31st of August, to the building they had fixed upon; and meeting with some opposition from a tenant who occupied it, they took possession of the mansion-house itself, to which, on the same evening, they sent the four patients who remained at the circus.

Shortly after this, the guardians of the poor for the city, except James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, Jun. and William Sansom, ceased the performance of their duties, nearly the whole of them having removed out of the city. Before this virtual vacation of office, they passed a resolve against the admission of any paupers whatever into the Alms House during the prevalence of the disorder.* The whole care of the poor of the city, the providing for Bushhill, sending the sick there, and burying the dead, devolved, therefore, on the above three guardians.

* The reason for entering into this order, was, that some paupers, who had been admitted previous thereto, with a certificate from the physicians, of their being free from the infection, had, nevertheless, died of it.

CHAPTER IV.

General Despondency. Deplorable Scenes. Frightful View of Human Nature. A noble and exhilarating Contrast.

THE consternation of the people of Philadelphia, at this period, was carried beyond all bounds. Dismay and affright were visible in almost every person's countenance. Most of those who could, by any means, make it convenient, fled from the city. Of those who remained, many shut themselves up in their houses, being afraid to walk the streets. The smoke of tobacco being regarded as a preventive, many persons, even women and small boys, had segars almost constantly in their mouths. Others, placing full confidence in garlic, chewed it almost the whole day; some kept it in their pockets and shoes. Many were afraid to allow the barbers or hair-dressers to come near them, as instances had occurred of some of them having shaved the dead, and many having engaged as bleeders. Some, who carried their caution pretty far, bought lancets for themselves, not daring to allow themselves to be bled with the lancets of the bleeders. Many houses were scarcely a moment in the day, free from the smell of gunpowder, burned tobacco, nitre, sprinkled vinegar, &c. Some of the churches were almost deserted, and others wholly closed. The coffee-house was shut up, as was the city library, and most of the public offices—three, out of the four, daily papers were discontinued,* as were some of the others. Many devoted no small portion of their time to purifying, scouring, and whitewashing their rooms. Those who ventured abroad, had handkerchiefs or sponges, impregnated with vinegar or camphor, at their noses, or smelling-bottles full of thieves' vinegar. Others carried pieces of tarred rope in their hands or pockets, or camphor bags tied round their necks. The corpses of the most respectable citizens, even of those who had not died of the epidemic,

* It would be improper to pass over this opportunity of mentioning, that the Federal Gazette, printed by Andrew Brown, was uninterruptedly continued, and with the usual industry, during the whole calamity, and was of the utmost service, in conveying to the citizens of the United States authentic intelligence of the state of the disorder, and of the city.

were carried to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the horse driven by a negro, unattended by a friend or relation, and without any sort of ceremony. People uniformly and hastily shifted their course at the sight of a hearse coming towards them. Many never walked on the foot-path, but went into the middle of the streets, to avoid being infected in passing houses wherein people had died. Acquaintances and friends avoided each other in the streets, and only signified their regard by a cold nod. The old custom of shaking hands, fell into such general disuse, that many shrunk back with affright at even the offer of the hand. A person with a crape, or any appearance of mourning, was shunned like a viper. And many valued themselves highly on the skill and address with which they got to windward of every person whom they met. Indeed it is not probable that London, at the last stage of the plague, exhibited stronger marks of terror, than were to be seen in Philadelphia, from the 25th or 26th of August, till late in September. When the citizens summoned resolution to walk abroad, and take the air, the sick cart conveying patients to the hospital, or the hearse carrying the dead to the grave, which were travelling almost the whole day soon damped their spirits, and plunged them again into despondency.

While affairs were in this deplorable state, and people at the lowest ebb of despair, we cannot be astonished at the frightful scenes that were acted, which seemed to indicate a total dissolution of the bonds of society in the nearest and dearest connexions. Who, without horror, can reflect on a husband, married perhaps for twenty years, deserting his wife in the last agony—a wife, unfeelingly, abandoning her husband on his death bed—parents forsaking their children—children ungratefully flying from their parents, and resigning them to chance, often without an inquiry after their health or safety—masters hurrying off their faithful servants to Bushhill, even on suspicion of the fever, and that at a time, when, almost like Tartarus, it was open to every visitant, but rarely returned any—servants abandoning tender and humane masters, who only wanted a little care to restore them to health and usefulness—who, I say, can think of these things, without horror? Yet they were often exhibited throughout our city; and such was the force of habit, that the parties who were guilty of this cruelty, felt no remorse themselves—nor met with the censure from their fellow citizens, which such conduct would have excited at any

other period. Indeed, at this awful crisis, so much did *self* appear to engross the whole attention of many, that in some cases not more concern was felt for the loss of a parent, a husband, a wife, or an only child, than, on other occasions, would have been caused by the death of a faithful servant.

This kind of conduct produced scenes of distress and misery, of which parallels are rarely to be met with, and which nothing could palliate, but the extraordinary public panic, and the great law of self-preservation, the dominion of which extends over the whole animated world. Men of affluent fortunes, who have given daily employment and sustenance to hundreds, have been abandoned to the care of a negro, after their wives, children, friends, clerks, and servants, had fled away, and left them to their fate. In some cases, at the commencement of the disorder, no money could procure proper attendance. With the poor, the case was, as might be expected, infinitely worse than with the rich. Many of these have perished, without a human being to hand them a drink of water, to administer medicines, or to perform any charitable office for them. Various instances have occurred, of dead bodies found lying in the streets, of persons who had no house or habitation, and could procure no shelter.*

A man and his wife, once in affluent circumstances, were found lying dead in bed, and between them was their child, a little infant, who was sucking its mother's breast. How long they had lain thus, was uncertain.

A woman, whose husband had just died of the fever, was seized with the pains of parturition, and had nobody to assist her, as the women in the neighbourhood were afraid to go into the house. She lay, for a considerable time, in a degree of anguish that will not bear description. At length, she struggled to reach the windows, and cried out for assistance. Two men, passing by, went up stairs; but they came at too late a stage.—She was striving with death—and actually, in a few minutes, expired in their arms.

Another woman, whose husband and two children lay dead in the room with her, was in the same situation as the former, without a midwife, or any other person to aid her. Her cries at the window brought up one of the carters employed by the committee for the relief of the sick. With his assistance she

* The novel of Arthur Mervyn, by C. B. Brown, gives a vivid and terrifying picture, probably not too highly coloured, of the horrors of that period.

was delivered of a child, which died in a few minutes, as did the mother, who was utterly exhausted by her labour, by the disorder, and by the dreadful spectacle before her. And thus lay, in one room, no less than five dead bodies, an entire family, carried off within a few hours. Instances have occurred, of respectable women, who, in their lying-in, have been obliged to depend on their maid-servants, for assistance—and some have had none but from their husbands. Some of the midwives were dead—and others had left the city.

A servant girl, belonging to a family in this city, in which the fever had prevailed, was apprehensive of danger, and resolved to remove to a relation's house, in the country. She was, however, taken sick on the road, and returned to town, where she could find no person to receive her. One of the guardians of the poor provided a cart, and took her to the Alms House, into which she was refused admittance. She was brought back, but the guardian could not procure her a single night's lodging. And in fine, after every effort made to provide her shelter, she absolutely expired in the cart. This occurrence took place before Bushhill hospital was opened.

To relate all the frightful cases of this nature that occurred, would fill a volume. To pass them over wholly would have been improper—to dwell on them longer would be painful. Let these few, therefore, suffice. But I must observe, that most of them happened in the first stage of the public panic. Afterwards, when the citizens recovered a little from their fright, they became rare.

These horrid circumstances having a tendency to throw a shade over the human character, it is proper to shed a little light on the subject, wherever justice and truth will permit. Amidst the general abandonment of the sick that prevailed, there were to be found many illustrious instances of men and women, some in the middle, others in the lower spheres of life, who, in the exercise of the duties of humanity, exposed themselves to dangers, which terrified men, who had often faced death without fear, in the field of battle. Some of them, alas! have fallen in the good cause! But why should they be regretted? never could they have fallen more gloriously. Foremost in this noble groupe stands Joseph Inskeep, a most excellent man in all the social relations of citizen, brother, husband, and friend.—To the sick and the forsaken has he devoted his hours, to relieve and comfort them in their tribulation, and his kind

assistance was dealt out with almost equal freedom to an utter stranger as to his bosom friend. Numerous are the instances of men restored, by his kind cares and attention, to their families, from the very jaws of death.—In various cases has he been obliged to put dead bodies into coffins, when the relations had fled from the mournful and dangerous office. The merit of Andrew Adgate, Joab Jones, James Wilson, Jacob Tomkins, and Daniel Offley, in the same way, was conspicuous, and of the last importance to numbers of distressed creatures, bereft of every other comfort. The Rev. Mr. Fleming, the Rev. Mr. Graessel and the Rev. Mr. Winkhause, exhausted themselves by a succession of labours, day and night, attending on the sick, and ministering relief to their spiritual and temporal wants.

Of those who have happily survived their dangers, and are preserved to their fellow citizens, I shall mention a few. They enjoy the supreme reward of a self-approving conscience; and I readily believe, that in the most secret recesses, remote from the public eye, they would have done the same. But next to the sense of having done well, is the approbation of our friends and fellow men; and when the debt is great, and the only payment that can be made is applause, it is surely the worst species of avarice, to withhold it. We are always ready, too ready, alas! to bestow censure—and, as if anxious lest we should not give enough, we generally heap the measure. When we are so solicitous to deter by reproach from folly, vice, and crime, why not be equally disposed to stimulate to virtue and heroism, by freely bestowing the well-earned plaudit? Could I suppose that in any future equally-dangerous emergency, the opportunity I have seized of bearing my feeble testimony, in favour of those worthy persons, would be a means of exciting others to emulate their heroic virtue, it would afford me the highest consolation I have ever experienced.

The Rev. Henry Helmuth's merits are of the most exalted kind. His whole time, during the prevalence of the disorder, was spent in the performance of works of mercy, visiting and relieving the sick, comforting the afflicted, and feeding the hungry. Of his congregation, some hundreds have paid the last debt to nature, since the malignant fever began; and I believe he attended nearly the whole of them. To so many dangers was he exposed, that he stands a living miracle of preservation. The Rev. C. V. Keating, the Rev. Mr. Ustick, and the

Rev. Mr. Dickens, have been in the same career, and performed their duties to the sick with equal fidelity, and with equal danger. The venerable old citizen, Samuel Robeson, has been like a good angel, indefatigably performing, in families where there was not one person able to help another, even the menial offices of the kitchen, in every part of his neighbourhood. Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer, Levi Hollingsworth, John Barker, Hannah Paine, John Hutchinson, and great numbers of others have distinguished themselves by the kindest offices of disinterested humanity. Magnus Miller, Samuel Coates, and other good citizens, in that time of pinching distress and difficulty, advanced sums of money to individuals whose resources were cut off, and who, though accustomed to a life of independence, were absolutely destitute of the means of subsistence. And as the widow's mite has been mentioned in scripture with so much applause, let me add, that a worthy widow, whose name I am grieved I cannot mention, came to the city-hall, and, out of her means, which are very moderate, offered the committee twenty dollars for the relief of the poor. John Connelly has spent hours beside the sick, when their wives and children had abandoned them. Twice did he catch the disorder—twice was he on the brink of the grave, which was yawning to receive him—yet, unappalled by the imminent danger he had escaped, he again returned to the charge. I feel myself affected at this part of my subject, with emotions, which I fear my unanimated style is ill calculated to transfuse into the breast of my reader. I wish him to dwell on this part of the picture, with a degree of exquisite pleasure equal to what I feel in the description. When we view man in this light, we lose sight of his feebleness, his imperfection, his vice —he resembles, in a small degree, that divine Being, who is an inexhaustible mine of mercy and goodness. And, as a human being, I rejoice, that it has fallen to my lot, to be a witness and recorder of a magnanimity, which would alone be sufficient to rescue the character of mortals from obloquy and reproach.

CHAPTER V.

Distress increases. Benevolent Citizens invited to assist the Guardians of the Poor. Ten Volunteers. Appointment of the Committee for relief of the Sick. State of Philadelphia.

In the mean time, the situation of affairs became daily more and more serious. Those of the guardians of the poor, who continued to act, were quite oppressed with the labours of their office, which increased to such a degree, that they were utterly unable to execute them. I have already mentioned, that for the city there were but three who persevered in the performance of their duty.* It must give the reader great concern to hear, that two of them, James Wilson, and Jacob Tomkins, excellent and indefatigable young men, whose services were at that time of very great importance, fell sacrifices in the cause of humanity. The other, William Sansom, was likewise, in the execution of his dangerous office, seized with the disorder, and on the brink of the grave, but was so fortunate as to recover. The mortality increased daily. Owing to the general terror, nurses, carters, and attendants could not be procured but with difficulty. Thus circumstanced, the Mayor of the city, on the 10th of September, published an address to the citizens, announcing that the guardians of the poor, who remained, were in distress for want of assistance, and inviting such benevolent people, as felt for the general distress, to lend their aid. In consequence of this advertisement, a meeting of the citizens was held at the City-Hall, on Thursday, the 12th of September, at which very few attended, from the universal

* With respect to the guardians of the poor, I have been misunderstood. I only spoke of those for the city. Those for the Liberties, generally, continued at their post; and two of them, Wm. Peter Sprague, and William Gregory, performed, in the Northern Liberties, the very same kind of services as the committee did in the city, viz. attended to the burial of the dead and the removal of the sick. In Southwark, the like tour of duty was executed by Clement Humphreys, John Cornish, and Robert Jones. Far be it from me to deprive any man of applause so richly and hazardously earned. I only regret, that want of leisure prevents me from collecting the names of all those who have nobly distinguished themselves, by their attention to the alleviation of the general calamity.

consternation that prevailed. The state of the poor was fully considered; and ten citizens, Israel Israel, Samuel Wetherill, Thomas Wistar, Andrew Adgate, Caleb Lownes, Henry Deforest, Thomas Peters, Joseph Inskeep, Stephen Girard and John Mason, offered themselves to assist the guardians of the poor. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to confer with the physicians who had the care of Bushhill, and make report of the state of that hospital. This committee reported next evening, that it was in very bad order, and in want of almost every thing.

On Saturday, the 14th, another meeting was held, when the alarming state of affairs being fully considered, it was resolved to borrow fifteen hundred dollars of the Bank of North America, for the purpose of procuring suitable accommodations for the use of persons afflicted with the prevailing malignant fever. At this meeting, a committee was appointed to transact the whole of the business relative to the relief of the sick, and the procuring of physicians, nurses, attendants, &c. This is the committee, which, by virtue of that appointment, has, from that day to the present time, watched over the sick, the poor, the widow, and the orphan. It is worthy of remark, and may encourage others in time of public calamity, that this committee consisted originally of only twenty-six persons, men mostly taken from the middle walks of life; of these, four, Andrew Adgate, Jonathan Dickinson Sargeant, Daniel Offley, and Joseph Inskeep, died, the two first at an early period of their labours—and four never attended to the appointment. "The heat and burden of the day" have therefore been borne by eighteen persons, whose exertions have been so highly favoured by Providence, that they have been the instruments of averting the progress of destruction, eminently relieving the distressed, and restoring confidence to the terrified inhabitants of Philadelphia. It is honourable to this committee, that they have conducted their business with more harmony than is generally to be met with in public bodies of equal number. Probably there never was one, of which the members were so regular in their attendance; the meetings, at the worst of times—those times, which, to use Paine's emphatic language, "tried men's souls," were composed, in general, of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen members.*

* It is a fact worthy of physiological consideration, that several of the members, of whom the writer of this pamphlet was one, have declared that

Never, perhaps, was there a city in the situation of Philadelphia at this period. The President of the United States, according to his annual custom, had removed to Mount Vernon with his household. Most, if not all of the other officers of the federal government were absent. The governor, who had been sick, had gone, by directions of his physician, to his country seat near the Falls of Schuylkill—and nearly the whole of the officers of the state had likewise retired. The magistrates of the city, except the mayor,* and John Barclay,† Esq. were away, as were most of those of the liberties. Of the situation of the guardians of the poor,‡ I have already made mention. In fact, government of every kind was almost wholly vacated, and seemed, by tacit, but universal consent, to be vested in the committee.

some of the most pleasurable hours of their existence were spent during the height of the fever. They were released from the cares of business—their duties in the Committee fully occupied their minds, and engrossed their attention for the entire day; as they went to the State-house (the place of meeting) in the morning after an early breakfast—took a cold collation there at dinner time, the materials of which were constantly spread on a sideboard—and remained there till night, when they returned to their families. Custom robbed the situation of its terrors. The only interruption to this state of their feelings arose from the death of some friend, or intimate acquaintance, or of some person whom they had perhaps seen alive a few hours or a day before. But even these impressions, though for the time strong and afflictive, soon wore away, and the tranquil state returned.

* This magistrate deserves particular praise. He was the first who invited the citizens to "rally round the standard" of charity, and convened the meeting at which the committee for relief of the sick was appointed, as well as the preceding ones; of this committee he was appointed president, and punctually fulfilled his duty during the whole time of the distress.

† This gentleman, late mayor of the city, acted in the double capacity of alderman and president of the Bank of Pennsylvania, to the duties of which offices he devoted himself unremittingly, except during an illness which threatened to add him to the number of valuable men of whom we have been bereft.

‡ The managers of the Alms House attended to the duties imposed on them, and met regularly at that building every week.

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings of the Citizens and of the Committee of Health.

TO THE BENEVOLENT CITIZENS.

THOSE of the Overseers of the Poor, who attend to the care of the unfortunate now labouring under the prevailing malignant disorder, are almost overcome with the fatigue which they undergo, and require immediate assistance. This, it is hoped, may be found amongst the benevolent citizens, who, actuated by a willingness to contribute their aid in the present distress, will offer themselves as volunteers to support the active overseers in the discharge of what they have undertaken. For which purpose, those who are thus humanely disposed, are requested to apply to the Mayor, who will point out to them how they may be useful.

September 10, 1793.

FOR THE BETTER PROTECTION OF THE CITY.

WHEREAS, the City Commissioners have observed, that a great number of dwelling houses and stores in this city are, for the present, shut up; and having good reason to apprehend that some evil disposed persons may avail themselves of the opportunity to commit burglaries or other outrages—the said Commissioners, taking the same under their serious consideration, have agreed, that a number of able bodied men, well recommended for their sobriety, honesty, and vigilance, shall be employed in addition to the present Watch, to act as a Patrol, or in such other manner as the said Commissioners shall think most expedient, for the more effectual protection of the lives and properties of the citizens, for the time being.

Now, this public notice is hereby given, to any person, or persons, willing to execute the trust, being recommended as aforesaid, that they may make application to either of the Commissioners, without delay, or at their stated meetings, on Tuesday and Friday evenings, at the Court House—they being determined to proceed therein, with all possible prudent despatch.

By order of the Board,

JOHN MEASE, *Clerk.*

September 13, 1793.

Philadelphia, Sept. 12, 1793.

At a meeting of a number of Citizens, held at the Court House, this evening, in consequence of an appointment of the Mayor and others, convened at the City Hall, to take into consideration the present calamitous state of the city and its environs,

Present,

Samuel Wetheril	Joseph Inskeep
Stephen Girard	Henry Deforest
Thomas Wistar	Andrew Adgate
Israel Israel	John Hawkins
Thomas I. Peters	Caleb Lownes

And several of the Overseers of the Poor.

The Committee having made inquiry into the situation of the poor and afflicted, are of the mind, that as it is not in the power of the overseers and guardians of the poor to afford the necessary aid that the cases of the sick require; that the citizens be again convened, in order that some effectual means be used, and a plan adopted to mitigate, and, if possible, to afford relief to the afflicted, both in the city and at the hospital at Bushhill.

Resolved, That the secretary be directed to publish the foregoing minute, and to request the citizens to attend a meeting to be held at the City Hall at 12 o'clock, on the 13th inst. and that in the mean time Israel Israel, Thomas Wistar and Caleb Lownes, be desired to confer with the physicians who have the charge of the sick at Bushhill, and obtain information of their situation, and furnish the necessary aid and relief in their power to afford.

On motion,—

Resolved, That as this city is much exposed, for want of a suitable place to receive and accommodate those that are afflicted with malignant disorders; and, as the increased trade and population subject the citizens to constant danger from the numbers that are daily arriving from foreign parts, where infectious disorders are frequently prevalent, that this subject be laid before the citizens at their next meeting, in order that some steps may be taken to bring the subject before the legislature, that the evils we now experience may be avoided in future, by suitable and comfortable provision for those who may experience a similar affliction.

Adjourned to half past six to-morrow evening.

At an adjourned meeting of the citizens, &c. held at the Court House, Sept. 13, 1793,

Present,

Samuel Wetheril	Israel Israel
Andrew Adgate	Henry Deforest
Thomas Wistar	Thomas Harrison
Stephen Girard	Caleb Lownes
Joseph Inskeep	

And several of the Overseers of the Poor.

The Committee appointed to confer with the physicians who have the charge of the sick at Bushhill,

Report, That they have attended to their appointment, and have produced the following account of the situation of that hospital, as given by Doctors Cathrall and Physick.

The Hospital is without order or arrangement, far from being clean, and stands in immediate need of several qualified persons to begin and establish the necessary arrangements—There are five or six female attendants; but none qualified for the proper management of the sick.—It has been attended by four physicians, viz.

Doctors Cathrall, Physick, Annan, and Leib; the latter is indisposed, and unable to attend.

There are immediately wanted,

A person qualified to arrange and manage an hospital, as steward;

A person qualified to act as barber and bleeder;

And eight nurses.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the wants; they are numerous, and call for speedy attention; but the abovementioned call for instant attention, which, when supplied, will reduce the number to a few, and render the institution useful and beneficial.

Whereupon, it is agreed, that the following propositions be laid before the general meeting, viz.

1. That a sum of money be instantly procured.

2. That a large Committee be appointed from the different parts of the city, Southwark and the Northern Liberties, to aid the sick and distressed.

3. That they have full power to act as circumstances may require.

4. That they keep a just account of their proceedings and expenditures, and report to a future general meeting of the citizens.

Resolved, That the chairman and secretary attend the ensuing general meeting; with the proceedings of the Committee.

Extract from the minutes,

CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.*

Whereupon, it was unanimously agreed;

That fifteen hundred dollars be immediately procured for the purpose of furnishing suitable accommodations and supplies for the use of the afflicted under the prevailing malignant fever —and that Thomas Harrison, Thomas Wistar and Caleb Lownes, be appointed a Committee to procure the said sum at the Bank of North America. That,

MATTHEW CLARKSON, ESQ.	CALEB LOWNES
Mayor of the city	*Thomas Wistar*
SAMUEL WETHERIL	ISRAEL ISRAEL
†JON. D. SARJEANT	THOS. HARRISON
Stephen Girard	†JOSEPH INSKEEP
*JOSEPH RUSSELL	WILLIAM ROBINSON
†ANDREW ADGATE	JACOB WITMAN
Mathew Carey	HENRY DEFOREST
THOMAS SAVERY	*John Letchworth*
*WILLIAM CLIFTON	JAMES SWAINE
SAMUEL BENGE	*James Sharswood*
JOHN CONNELLY	JOHN HAWORTH
*JACOB WEAVER	JAMES KERR, and
†DANIEL OFFLEY	PETER HELM§
*JOHN M'CULLOCH	

Be a committee‖ to transact the whole of the business relative to mitigating the suffering of those who are or may be afflicted with the disorder prevalent in this city and vicinity—to procure physicans, nurses, and attendants, and generally to furnish those

§ Those in italics are still living—March 4, 1830. The four whose names are preceded by a star, did not accept the appointment. Those to whose names a dagger is prefixed, died of the fever, caught in the execution of their duties.

‖ This committee was subdivided as follows:—

President.—Matthew Clarkson.

Secretary.—Caleb Lownes.

Treasurer.—*Thomas Wistar.*

Managers of Bushhill Hospital.—*Stephen Girard*, Peter Helm.

Orphan Committee.—Israel Israel, *John Letchworth*, James Kerr, James Sharswood.

Committee of Distribution.—Israel Israel, John Haworth, James Swaine, *Mathew Carey*, Thomas Savery, James Kerr, Jacob Witman, †Andrew Ad-

things that now are, or may become, necessary to be procured for the above named purpose.

That they, or a majority of them, have full powers to appropriate such sums as may be necessary for obtaining supplies, and for compensating those who may be employed in the business under their direction.

That they keep a fair account of their proceedings and expenditures, and report to a future meeting of the citizens.

Resolved, That MATTHEW CLARKSON, be *President of the Board.*

SAMUEL WETHERIL, *Vice President.*

THOMAS WISTAR, *Treasurer.*

And CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.*

Resolved, that the said committee take under their consideration, the propriety of providing suitable accommodations for the reception of such as may hereafter be afflicted by similar complaints, and to guard against the dangers to which this city is exposed from its increased trade and population, and the danger which the daily arrivals from foreign parts, where malignant disorders are frequently prevalent, constantly subject us to, and to report thereon at a future meeting.

CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.*

September 13.

In consequence of an appointment, at a general meeting of the citizens held this day, at 12 o'clock, at the City Hall, the following persons attended:

THOMAS WISTAR	JAMES SWAINE
MATHEW CAREY	JAMES SHARSWOOD
SAMUEL BENGE	JAMES KERR
STEPHEN GIRARD	PETER HELM
THOMAS HARRISON	HENRY DEFOREST
THOMAS SAVERY	JOSEPH INSKEEP
ISRAEL ISRAEL	CALEB LOWNES
JOHN LETCHWORTH	

ISRAEL ISRAEL is appointed Chairman, P. T.

gate, †J. D. Sargeant, †Daniel Offley, †Joseph Inskeep, John Letchworth, James Sharswood, Samuel Benge.

Superintendant of the Burials of the Dead, and Removal of the Sick.—Samuel Benge.

Distributor of Supplies.—Henry Deforest.

Committee of Accounts.—James Sharswood, John Connelly.

Committee on the publication of Letters.—Caleb Lownes, *Mathew Carey.*

The committee appointed to procure a sum of money for the use of the hospital at Bushhill, &c. report, that they have applied to the President of the Bank of North America, deposited the necessary obligation, and shall have the sum of 1,500 dollars ready on the 16th instant.

Resolved, That Israel Israel, Mathew Carey, James Swaine, Andrew Adgate, Thomas Savery, John Connelly, Stephen Girard, Jacob Weaver, N. L., James Sharswood, and John M'Culloch, S. be a committee to superintend the business at Bushhill, to agree with and appoint the necessary officers at that place.

Resolved, That the Treasurer advance 50 dollars to each of the above named committee for current expenses, and to continue to advance upon their drafts as often as they may require; and that they individually make a weekly return of the expenditures.

Resolved, That James Kerr, Thomas Wistar, and John Letchworth, be a committee to prepare suitable carriages for the use of the physicians and the diseased.

Resolved, That the committee be empowered to advance such sums of money to poor families, at their houses, who are afflicted with malignant disorders, and to render them such services as may be in their power to afford.

Adjourned to the 15th, at six o'clock, to meet at this place.

CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.*

September 15.

Resolved, That three members of the committee for the management of the hospital at Bushhill, attend at the City Hall daily, to receive applications for relief, and to afford such assistance as may be necessary to alleviate the distresses of those who are afflicted with the prevailing malignant disorder. The door-keeper will receive applications at the door of the City Hall.

Stephen Girard and Peter Helm, members of the Board, commiserating the calamitous state which the sick may probably be reduced to for want of suitable persons to superintend the hospital, voluntarily offering their services for that benevolent employment,

Resolved, That they be accepted, and that they be encouraged immediately to enter upon the important duties of the appointment.

September 16.

Information is received from Stephen Girard and Peter Helm, the managers of the hospital at Bushhill, that the hospital is now fully furnished with officers and attendants, except a few nurses; that the necessary arrangements are made; that the sick are amply supplied with the necessary supplies and accommodations, and that the business is now so far matured as to afford every assistance necessary in such a hospital.

Resolved that the nurses be immediately procured and conveyed to the hospital.

Extract from the minutes,

CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.**

The generous citizens will send what linen they can spare to the attending committee at the City Hall, where it will be thankfully received.

Philadelphia, September 18.

At a meeting of the committee of citizens appointed to the care of the sick, &c.

Resolved—That the committee of citizens appointed to the care of the poor and sick afflicted with the prevailing malignant disorder in the city and vicinity, continue their sittings at the City Hall constantly, until the situation of the Hospital and afflicted in the city shall render it proper to adjourn.

Extract from the minutes,

CALEB LOWNES, *Secretary.*

We have the satisfaction of informing our fellow citizens, that neither of the sitting managers, physicians, nurses or attendants, at the Hospital at Bushhill, have taken the infection, or are any ways indisposed, and that there are near twenty patients recovered at that place.

That the Hospital is fully furnished with well qualified nurses—and that some, that were guilty of irregularities, are discharged.

That good information has been received from the Pennsyl-

* This highly estimable citizen, who devoted a large portion of his time and attention to objects calculated to promote the prosperity and improve the morals of his fellow citizens, and who was mainly instrumental in cleansing the Augean stable of the old prison in Walnut Street, in the year 1790, lately died in Cincinnati, where his corpse lies interred. It would be honourable to the citizens of Philadelphia, and a small payment of a large debt of gratitude, to have a monumental stone, engraved with a statement of some of his various deeds of beneficence, placed at his grave. March 12, 1830.

vania Hospital, House of Employment, Alms House, and Prisons, that there is no appearance of infection in them.

TO THE CITIZENS.

The persons who are employed to remove the dead, have been frequently interrupted, insulted and threatened, whilst performing their business, by persons who appear to possess no sentiments of humanity, but such as particularly concern themselves.

In order therefore to prevent such conduct in future, NOTICE is hereby given, that prosecutions will be instituted against all those who shall offend herein.

The public safety requires that protection be given to those useful persons, and the good citizens are called upon to afford it to them, and to point out to the legal authority, all those who shall molest them in their employment.

MATTHEW CLARKSON, *Mayor.*

September 17, 1793.

☞ At this particular crisis, in which so many of the merchants and others are absent from this city, the indisposition of two of the letter carriers renders it necessary to request all those who dwell south of, and in Chesnut Street, and in Front and Water, north of Market Street, to call or send for their letters for a few days.

September 18.

CHAPTER VII.

Magnanimous Offer.—Wretched State of Bushhill.—Order introduced there.

AT the meeting on Sunday, September 15th, a circumstance occurred, to which the most glowing pencil could hardly do justice. Stephen Girard, a wealthy merchant, a native of France, and one of the members of the committee, sympathising with the wretched situation of the sufferers at Bushhill, voluntarily and unexpectedly offered himself as a manager, to superintend that hospital. The surprise and satisfaction excited by this extraordinary effort of humanity, can be better conceived than expressed. Peter Helm, a native of Pennsylvania, also a member, actuated by the like benevolent motives, offered his services in the same department. Their offers were accepted;

and the same afternoon they entered on the execution of their dangerous and praiseworthy office.*

To form a just estimate of the value of the offer of these citizens, it is necessary to take into consideration the general consternation which at that period pervaded every quarter of the city, and which caused attendance on the sick to be regarded as little less than a certain sacrifice. Uninfluenced by any reflections of this kind, without any possible inducement but the purest motives of humanity, they magnanimously offered themselves as the forlorn hope of the committee. I trust that the gratitude of their fellow citizens will be as enduring as the memory of their beneficent conduct, which I hope will not die with the present generation.

On the 16th, the managers of Bushhill, after personal inspection of the state of affairs there, made report of its situation, which was truly deplorable. It exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. A profligate, abandoned set of nurses and attendants (hardly any of good character could at that time be procured,) rioted on the provisions and comforts prepared for the sick, who (unless at the hours when the doctors attended) were left almost entirely destitute of every assistance. The sick, the dying, and the dead, were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure, and other evacuations of the sick, were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. Not the smallest appearance of order or regularity existed. It was, in fact, a great human slaughter-house, where numerous victims were immolated at the altar of riot and intemperance. No wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed through the city, and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death. In consequence, there were various instances of sick persons locking their rooms, and resisting every attempt to carry them away. At length, the poor were so much afraid of being sent to Bushhill, that they would not acknowledge their illness, until it was no longer possible to conceal it. For it is to be observed, that the fear of the contagion was so prevalent, that as soon as any one was taken ill, of any disorder whatever, an alarm was spread among the neighbours, and every effort was used to have the sick person hurried off to Bushhill, to avoid spreading the disorder. The cases of poor people forced in this way to that hospital, though labouring under only common colds, and common fall fevers,

* The management of the interior department was assumed by Stephen Girard—of the exterior, by Peter Helm.

were numerous and afflicting. There were not wanting instances of persons, only slightly ill, being sent to Bushhill, by their panic-struck neighbours, and embracing the first opportunity of returning to Philadelphia.

The regulations adopted at Bushhill were as follow:

One of the rooms in the mansion house (which contains fourteen, besides three large entries) was allotted to the matron, and an assistant under her—eleven rooms and two entries to the sick. Those who were in a very low state were in one room—and one was appointed for the dying. The men and women were kept in distinct rooms, and attended by nurses of their own sex. Every sick person was furnished with a bedstead, clean sheet, pillow, two or three blankets, porringer, plate, spoon, and clean linen, when necessary. In the mansion house were one hundred and forty bedsteads. The new frame house, built by the committee, when it was found that the old buildings were inadequate to contain the patients commodiously, is sixty feet front, and eighteen feet deep, with three rooms on the ground floor; one of which was for the head nurses of that house, the two others for the sick. Each of these two last contained seventeen bedsteads. The loft, designed for the convalescents, was calculated to contain forty.

The barn is a large, commodious, stone building, divided into three apartments; one occupied by the resident doctors and apothecary; one, which contained forty bedsteads, by the male, and the other by the female convalescents, which contained fifty-seven.

At some distance from the west of the hospital, was erected a frame building to store the coffins and deposit the dead, until they were sent to a place of interment.

Besides the nurses employed in the house, there were two cooks, four labourers, and three washerwomen, constantly employed for the use of the hospital.

The sick were visited twice a day by two physicians, Dr. Deveze and Dr. Benjamin Duffield,* whose prescriptions were executed by three resident physicians and the apothecary.

* Very soon after the organization of the Committee, Dr. Deveze, a respectable French physician, from Cape François, offered his services in the line of his profession at Bushhill. Dr. Benjamin Duffield did the same. Their offers were accepted, and they have both attended with great punctuality. Dr. Deveze renounced all other practice, which, at that period, would have been very lucrative, when there was such general demand for physicians. The Committee, in consideration of the services of these two gentlemen, presented Dr. Duffield with five hundred, and Dr. Deveze with fifteen hundred dollars.

One of the resident doctors was charged with the distribution of the victuals for the sick. At eleven o'clock, he gave them broth, with rice, bread, boiled beef, veal, mutton, and chicken, with cream of rice to those whose stomachs would not bear stronger nourishment. Their second meal was at six o'clock, when they had broth, rice, boiled prunes, with cream of rice. The sick drank at their meals porter, or claret and water. Their constant drink between meals was centaury tea, and boiled lemonade.

These regulations, the order and regularity introduced, and the care and tenderness with which the patients were treated, soon removed the prejudices against the hospital; and in the course of a week or two, numbers of sick people, who had not at home proper persons to nurse them, applied to be sent to Bushhill. Indeed, in the end, so many people, who were afflicted with other disorders, procured admittance there, that it became necessary to pass a resolve, that before an order of admission should be granted, a certificate must be produced from a physician, that the patient laboured under the malignant fever; for, had all the applicants been received, this hospital, provided for an extraordinary occasion, would have been filled with patients whose cases fell within the cognizance of the managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

The number of persons received into Bushhill, from the 16th of September to this time, November 30, is about one thousand; of whom nearly five hundred are dead; there are now in the house, about twenty sick, and fifty convalescents. Of the latter class, there have been dismissed about four hundred and thirty.

The reason why so large a proportion died, of those received, is, that, in a variety of cases, the early fears of that hospital had obtained such firm possession of the minds of some, and others were so much actuated by a foolish pride, that they would not consent to be removed till they were past recovery. And in consequence of this, there were several instances of persons dying in the cart on the road to the hospital. Were it not for the operation of these two motives, the number of the dead in the city and in the hospital would have been much lessened; for many a man, whose nice feelings made him spurn at the idea of a removal to the hospital, perished in the city for want of that comfortable assistance he would have had at Bushhill.*

* I omitted, in the former editions, to mention the name of a most excellent and invaluable woman, Mrs. Saville, the matron in this hospital, whose ser-

I speak within bounds when I say, that at least a third of the whole number of those received, did not survive their entrance into the hospital two days; and of those that died in the hospital, many would have been rescued had they been taken there in proper season.

Before I conclude this chapter, let me add, that the perseverance of the managers of that hospital has been equally meritorious with their original magnanimous beneficence. During the whole calamity to this time, they have attended uninterruptedly, for six, seven, or eight hours a day, renouncing almost every care of private affairs. They have had a laborious tour of duty to perform. Stephen Girard, whose office was in the interior part of the hospital, has had to encourage and comfort the sick—to hand them necessaries and medicines—to wipe the sweat off their brows—and to perform many disgusting offices of kindness for them, which nothing could render tolerable, but the exalted motives that impelled him to this heroic conduct. Peter Helm, his worthy coadjutor, displayed, in his department, equal exertions, to promote the common good.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings of the Committee.—Loans from the Bank of North America.—Establishment of an Orphan House.—Relief of the Poor.—Appointment of the Assistant Committee.

The Committee, on its organization, resolved that three of the members should attend daily at the City Hall, to receive applications for relief; to provide for the burial of the dead, and for the conveyance of persons labouring under the malignant fever to Bushhill. But three being found inadequate to the execution of the multifarious and laborious duties to be performed, this order was rescinded, and daily attendance was given by nearly all of the members.

A number of carts and carters were engaged for the burial of the dead, and removal of the sick. And, to the terror and dis-

vices, in the execution of her office, were above all price. Never was there a person better qualified for such a situation. To the most strict observance of system, she united all the tenderness and humanity which are so essentially requisite in an hospital, but which habit, rendering the parties callous, so very frequently and fatally extinguishes.

may of the citizens, they were incessantly employed through the whole day, in these mournful offices.

The Committee borrowed fifteen hundred dollars from the Bank of North America, agreeably to the resolves of the town meeting by which they were appointed. Several of the members entered into security to repay that sum, in case the corporation or legislature should refuse to make provision for its discharge. This sum being soon expended, a farther loan of five thousand dollars was negotiated with the same institution.*

In the progress of the disorder, the Committee found the calls on their humanity increase. The numerous deaths of heads of families left a very large body of children in a most abandoned, forlorn state. The Bettering-house, in which such helpless objects had been usually placed, was barred against them, by the order which I have already mentioned. Many of these little innocents were actually suffering, for want of even common necessaries. The deaths of their parents and protectors, which should have been the strongest recommendation to public charity, was the chief cause of their distress, and of their being shunned as a pestilence. The children of a family once in easy circumstances, were found in a blacksmith's shop, squalid, dirty, and half starved, having been for a considerable time without even bread to eat. Various instances of a similar nature occurred. This evil early caught the attention of the Committee, and on the 19th of September they hired a house in Fifth-street, in which they placed thirteen children. The number increasing, they on the 3d of October, procured the Loganian library, which was generously tendered them by John Swanwick, Esq. for the purpose of an orphan house. A further increase of their little charge, rendered it necessary to build some additions to the library, nearly half as large as that building. At present, there are in the house, under the care of the orphan Committee, about sixty children, and above forty are out with wet nurses. From the origin of the institution, one hundred and ninety children have fallen under their care, of whom sixteen are dead, and about seventy have been delivered to their relations or friends. There are instances of five and six children of a single family in the house.

To these precious deposits the utmost attention has been

* On the repayment of these sums, the directors declined accepting interest for the use of them.

paid. They are well fed, comfortably clothed, and properly taken care of. Mary Parvin, a very suitable person for the purpose, has been engaged as matron, and there are, besides, sufficient persons employed to assist her. Various applications have been made for some of the children; but in no instance would the Committee surrender any of them up, until they had satisfactory evidence that the claimants had a right to make the demand. The relations of those who remain are now publicly called upon to come and receive them. For such as may remain unclaimed, the best provision possible will be made; and so great is the avidity displayed to have some of them, that there will be no difficulty in placing them to advantage.

Another duty soon attracted the attention of the Committee. The flight of so many of our citizens, the consequent stagnation of business, and the almost total cessation of the labours of the guardians of the poor, produced among the lower classes of the people, a great degree of distress, which loudly demanded the interposition of the humane. In consequence, on the 20th of September, a Committee of distribution, of three members, was appointed, to furnish such assistance, to deserving objects, as their respective cases might require, and the funds allow. This was at first administered to but few, owing to the confined state of the finances. But the very extraordinary liberality of our fugitive fellow citizens, of the citizens of New York, and of those of various towns and townships, encouraged the committee to extend their views. In consequence, they increased the distributing committee to eight, and afterwards to ten.

Being, in the execution of this important service, liable to imposition, they, on the 14th of October, appointed an assistant committee, composed of forty-five citizens, chosen from the several districts of the city and liberties.* The duty assigned

* The following is a list of this Committee:—

SAMUEL COATES, *Chairman.*

JOHN OLDDEN, *Secretary.*

Northern Liberties.—William Peter Spragues, William Gregory, Jacob Witman, James Swaine, Joseph Burns, George Forepaugh, Casper Snyder, Peter Smith.

Vine to Race Street.—Richard Whitehead, Joseph Kerr, John Ettries.

Race to Arch.—Thomas Willis, Daniel Dawson, Peter Thomson, Thomas Allibone, Lambert Wilmer.

Arch to Market.—William Sansom, Justinian Fox, Amos Wickersham.

Market to Chesnut.—Arthur Howell, Alexander Cochran, Thomas Dobson.

this assistant committee, was to seek out and give recommendations to deserving objects in distress, who, on producing them, were relieved by the Committee of distribution, who sat daily at the City Hall, with money, provisions, or wood, or all three, according as their necessities required. The assistant committee executed this business with such care, that it is probable so great a number of people were never before relieved, with so little imposition. Some shameless creatures, possessed of houses, and comfortable means of support, have been detected in endeavouring to partake of the relief destined solely for the really indigent and distressed.

Besides those who applied for assistance in the way of gift, there was a class, in equal distress, and equally entitled to relief, who could not descend to accept it as charity. The Committee, disposed to foster this laudable principle, one of the best securities from debasement of character, relieved persons of this description with small loans weekly, just enough for immediate support, and took acknowledgments for the debt, without intending to urge payment, if not perfectly convenient to the parties.

The number of persons relieved weekly, was about twelve hundred; many of whom had families of four, five, and six persons.

The gradual revival of business has rescued those who are able and willing to work, from the humiliation of depending on public charity. And the organization of the overseers of the poor has thrown the support of the proper objects of charity into its old channel. The distribution of money, &c. ceased therefore on Saturday, the 23d of November.

Chesnut to Walnut.—Jeremiah Paul, James Cummins, Casper W. Morris, Thomas Castieres.

Walnut to Spruce.—George Rutter, Benjamin W. Morris.

Spruce to Pine.—Samuel Pancoast, Jun. John Woodside, Levi Hollingsworth, William Watkins.

Pine to South.—John Wood, Adam Brittle, William Eckard, Thomas Dicksey, Ferguson M'Ilvaine.

Southwark.—William Innis, Richard Mosely, William Robinson, Sen. John Grantham, John Savage, John Pattison.

CHAPTER VIII.

Repeated Addresses of the Committee on the Purification of Houses. Assistant Committee undertake to inspect infected houses personally. Extinction of the Disorder. Governor's Proclamation. Address of the Clergy. A new and happy state of affairs.

THE Committee exerted its cares for the welfare of the citizens in all cases in which its interference was at all proper or necessary. The decline of the disorder induced many persons to return to the city at an earlier period, than prudence dictated. On the 26th of October, therefore, the Committee addressed their fellow citizens, congratulating them on the very flattering change that had taken place, which afforded a cheering prospect of being soon freed from the disorder entirely. They, however, recommended to those who were absent, not to return till the intervention of cold weather, or rain* should render such a step justifiable and proper, by totally extinguishing the disease.

The 29th, they published another address, earnestly exhorting those whose houses had been closed, to have them well aired and purified; to throw lime into the privies, &c.

The 4th of November, they again addressed the public, announcing that it was unsafe for those who had resided in the country, to return to town with too much precipitation, especially into houses not properly prepared. They added, that though the disorder had considerably abated, and though there was reason to hope it would shortly disappear, yet it was by no means totally eradicated; as there was reason to believe it still lurked in different parts of the city. They reiterated their representations on the subject of cleansing houses.

The 14th, they once more addressed their fellow citizens, informing them of the restoration to our long-afflicted city, of as great a degree of health as usually prevails at the same season; of no new cases of the malignant fever having occurred for many days; of their having reason to hope that in a few days not a vestige of it would remain in the city or suburbs; of applications for admission into the hospital having ceased; of the

* I shall in some of the following pages attempt to prove, that the idea here held out, so far as regards rain, was erroneous.

expectation of the physicians at the hospital, that no more than three or four would die out of ninety-one persons remaining there; of the number of convalescents increasing daily. They at the same time most earnestly recommended that houses in which the disorder had prevailed, should be purified; and that the clothing or bedding of the sick, more especially of those who had died of the disorder, should be washed, baked, buried, or destroyed. They added, that the absent citizens of Philadelphia, as well as those strangers who have business in the city, might safely come to it, without fear of the disorder.

Notwithstanding all these cautions, many persons returned from the country, without paying attention to the cleansing of their houses, thereby sporting not only with their own lives, but with the safety of their fellow citizens. The neglect of some persons in this way, has been so flagrant, as to merit severe punishment. This dangerous nuisance attracted the notice of the Committee; and after a conference with the assistant committee, they, on the 15th of November, in conjunction with them, resolved, that it was highly expedient to have all houses and stores in the city and liberties, wherein the malignant fever had prevailed, purified and cleansed as speedily and completely as possible; to have all those well aired, which had been closed for any length of time; to have lime thrown into the privies; to call in, when the district should be too large for the members to enforce compliance with those resolves, such assistants as might be necessary; and when any person, whose house required to be cleansed, and who was able to defray the expense thereof, should refuse or neglect to comply with the requisition of the members appointed to carry those resolves into effect, to report him to the next grand jury for the city and county, as supporting a nuisance dangerous to the public welfare. The assistant committee undertook to exert themselves to have these salutary plans put into execution; they have gone through the city and liberties for the purpose; and in most cases have found a readiness in the inhabitants to comply with a requisition of such importance.*

* The utmost exertions of the magistrates, and of the citizens generally, are necessary to guard against the deplorable consequences that may arise in the spring from the neglect of a few whose supineness renders them deaf to every call of duty in this respect. The beds secreted by some of the nurses who attended the sick, are likewise a fruitful source of danger, and demand the greatest vigilance from every person invested with authority to watch over the public safety.

This was the last act of the Committee that requires notice. Their business has since gone on in a regular, uniform train, every day like the preceding one. They are now (Nov. 30,) settling their accounts, and preparing to surrender up their trust, into the hands of a town meeting of their fellow citizens, the constituents by whom they were called into the responsible office they have filled. To them they will give an account of their stewardship, in a time of distress, the like of which heaven avert from the people of America for ever. Doubtless, a candid construction will be put upon their conduct, and it will be believed, that they have acted in every case that came under their cognizance, according to the best of their abilities.

On the 14th of November, governor Mifflin published a proclamation, announcing, that as it had pleased Almighty God to put an end to the grievous calamity which recently afflicted the city of Philadelphia, it was the duty of all who were truly sensible of the divine mercy, to employ the earliest moments of returning health, in devout expressions of penitence, submission, and gratitude. He therefore appointed Thursday, the 12th of December,* as a day of general humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, and earnestly exhorted and intreated his fellow citizens "to abstain, on that day, from all worldly avocations, and to unite in confessing, with contrite hearts, their manifold sins and transgressions—in acknowledging, with thankful adoration, the mercy and goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, more especially manifested in the late deliverance; and in praying, with solemn zeal, that the same mighty power would be graciously pleased to instil into our minds the just principles of our duty to Him and to our fellow creatures; to regulate and guide all our actions by his Holy Spirit; to avert from all mankind the evils of war, pestilence, and famine; and to bless and protect us in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty."

The 18th, the clergy of the city published an elegant and pathetic address, recommending that the day appointed by the governor, "should be set apart and kept holy to the Lord, not merely as a day of thanksgiving, for that, in all appearance, it

* The pious observance of this day, by an almost total cessation of business and by the churches being universally filled with the people pouring forth the effusions of their gratitude for the cessation of the dreadful scourge, exceeded that of any other day of thanksgiving I have ever known.

had pleased him, of his infinite mercy, to stay the rage of the malignant disorder, (when we had well nigh said, 'hath God forgot to be gracious?')—but also as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer; joined with the confession of our manifold sins, and of our neglect and abuse of his former mercies; together with sincere resolutions of future amendment and obedience to his holy will and laws; without which our prayers, praises, and thanksgivings will be in vain."

The 26th, the assistant committee passed several very judicious and salutary resolves, requiring their members in their several districts through the city and liberties, immediately to inspect the condition of all taverns, boarding houses, and other buildings in which the late contagious disorder was known to have been; to notify the owners or tenants, to have them purified and cleansed; to report the names of such as should refuse compliance, and also make report of every house shut up, in which any person was known to have lately sickened or died. They cautioned the vendue masters not to sell, and the public not to buy, any clothes or bedding belonging to persons lately deceased, until they had ascertained that the same had been sufficiently purified and aired.

I have not judged it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the business of the Committee from day to day. It would afford little gratification to the reader. It would be, for several weeks, little more than a melancholy history of fifteen, twenty, thirty, forty and fifty applications daily, for coffins and carts to bury the dead, who had none to perform that last office for them—or numerous applications for the removal of the sick to Bushhill. There was little variety. The present day was as dreary as the past—and the prospect of the approaching one was equally gloomy. This was the state of things for a long time. But at length brighter prospects dawned. The disorder decreased in violence. The number of the sick diminished. New cases became rare. The spirits of the citizens revived—and the tide of migration was once more turned. A visible alteration took place in the state of affairs in the city. Our friends returned in crowds. Every hour, long-absent and welcome faces appeared—and in many instances, those of persons, whom public fame had buried for weeks past. The stores, so long closed, are now (Nov. 30,) nearly all opened again. Many of the country merchants, bolder than others, are daily ven-

turing into their old place of supply. Market street is as full of wagons as usual. The custom-house, for weeks nearly deserted by our mercantile people, is thronged with citizens entering their vessels and goods. The streets, too long the abode of gloom and despair, have assumed the bustle suited to the season. Our wharves are filled with vessels loading and unloading their respective cargoes. And, in fine, as every thing, in the early stage of the disorder, seemed calculated to add to the general consternation; so now, on the contrary, every circumstance has a tendency to revive the courage and hopes of our citizens. But we have to lament, that the same spirit of exaggeration and lying, that prevailed at a former period, and was the grand cause of the harsh measures adopted by our sister states, has not ceased to operate; for at the present moment, when the danger is entirely done away, the credulous, of our own citizens still absent, and of the country people, are still alarmed with frightful rumours, of the disorder raging with as much violence as ever; of numbers carried off, a few hours after their return; and of new cases daily occurring. To what design to attribute these shameful tales, I know not. Were they to be regarded, in a spirit of resentment, one would be inclined to charge them to some secret, interested views of their authors, intent, if possible, to injure our city. But I will not allow myself to consider them in this point of light—and will even suppose they arise from a proneness to terrific narration, natural to some men. But they should consider, that we are in the situation of the frogs in the fable—while those tales, which make the hair of the country people stand on end, are sport to the fabricators, they are death to us. And I here assert, and defy contradiction, that of the whole number of our fugitive citizens, who have already returned, amounting to some thousands, not above two persons are dead—and these owe their fate to the most shameful neglect of airing and cleansing their houses, notwithstanding the various cautions published by the Committee. If people will venture into houses in which infected air has been pent up for weeks together, without any purification, we cannot be surprised at the consequences, however fatal they may be. But let not the catastrophe of a few incautious persons operate to bring discredit on a city containing above seventy thousand people.

CHAPTER IX.

Extravagant Letters from Philadelphia. Credulity put to the test.

THAT I might not interrupt the chain of events in Philadelphia, I have deferred, till now, giving an account of the proceedings in the several states, respecting our fugitives. As an introduction thereto, I shall prefix a short chapter respecting those letters, which excited the terror of our neighbours, and impelled them to more severe measures than they would otherwise have adopted.

Great as was the calamity of Philadelphia, it was magnified in the most extraordinary manner. The hundred tongues of rumour were never more successfully employed, than on this melancholy occasion. The terror of the inhabitants of all the neighbouring states was excited by letters from this city, distributed by every mail, many of which told tales of wo, whereof hardly a single circumstance was true, but which were every where received with implicit faith. The distresses of the city, and the fatality of the disorder, were exaggerated, as it were to see how far credulity could be carried. The plague of London was, according to rumour, hardly more fatal than our yellow fever. Our citizens died so fast, that there was hardly enough of people to bury them. Ten, or fifteen, *or more*, were said to be cast into one hole together, like so many dead beasts.* One man, whose feelings were so composed, as to be facetious on the subject, acquainted a correspondent, in New York, that the only business carrying on, was *grave digging*, or rather *pit dig-*

* The following extract appeared in a Norfolk paper about the middle of September.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, to a gentleman in Norfolk, Sept. 9.—"Half the inhabitants of this city have already fled to different parts, on account of the pestilential disorder that prevails here. The few citizens who remained in this place, die in abundance, *so fast, that they drag them away, like dead beasts, and put ten, or fifteen, or more, in a hole together. All the stores are shut up.* I am afraid this city will be ruined: for nobody will come near it hereafter. I am this day removing my family from this fatal place." I am strongly inclined to imagine that this letter was the cause of the Virginia proclamation.

*ging.** And at a time when the deaths did not exceed from forty to fifty daily, many men had the modesty to write, and others, throughout the continent, the credulity to believe, that we buried from one hundred to one hundred and fifty.† Thousands were swept off in three or four weeks.‡ And the nature and danger of the disorder, were as much misrepresented, as the number of the dead. It was said, in defiance of every day's experience, to be as inevitable by all exposed to the contagion, as the stroke of fate.

The credulity of some, the proneness to exaggeration of others, and I am sorry, extremely sorry to believe, the interested views of a few,§ will account for these letters.

* *From a New York paper of October* 2.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia, dated Sept. 23.—"The papers must have amply informed you of the melancholy situation of this city for five or six weeks past. *Grave digging* has been the only business carrying on; and indeed I may say of late, *pit digging*, where people are interred indiscriminately in three tiers of coffins. From the most accurate observations I can make upon matters, I think I speak within bounds, when I say, eighteen hundred persons have perished, (I do not say all of the yellow fever) since its first appearance."

† *From the Maryland Journal of Sept.* 27.

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, dated Sept. 20.—"The disorder seems to be much the same in this place as when I last wrote you: about 1500 have fallen victims to it. Last Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, there were not less than 350 died with this severe disorder!!! As I informed you before, this is the most distressed place I ever beheld. Whole families go in the disorder, in the course of twelve hours. For your own sakes, use all possible means to keep it out of Baltimore."

Extract of a letter from Philadelphia, of the same date.—"The malignant fever which prevails here, is still increasing. Report says, that above one hundred have been buried per day for some time past. It is now thought to be more infectious than ever. I think you ought to be very careful with respect to admitting persons from Philadelphia into your town."

‡ *From a Chestertown paper, of Sept.* 10.

Extract of a letter from a respectable young mechanic, in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town, dated the 5th inst.—"It is now a very mortal time in this city. The yellow fever hath *killed some thousands* of the inhabitants. Eight thousand mechanics, besides other people, have left the town. Every master in the city, of our branch of business, is gone." The "*some thousands*" that were *killed* at that time, did not amount to three hundred. The *authentic* information in this letter, was circulated in every state in the union, by the newspapers. From the date, I suspect this letter to have been the occasion of the Chestertown resolves.

§ As this charge is extremely pointed, it may be requisite to state the foundation of it, for the reader to form his opinion upon. Some of the letters

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings at Chestertown—at New York—at Trenton and Lamberton—at Baltimore.

THE effects produced by those tales were such as might have been reasonably expected. The consternation spread through the several states like wild fire. The first public act that took place on the subject, as far as I can learn, was at Chestertown, in Maryland. At this place a meeting was held on the 10th of September, and several resolves entered into, which, after specifying that the disorder had extended to Trenton, Princeton, Woodbridge, and Elizabethtown, on the post-road to New York, directed, that notice should be sent to the owners of the stages not to allow them to pass through the town, while there should be reason to expect danger therefrom; and that a committee of health and inspection should be appointed, to provide for the relief of such poor inhabitants as might take the disorder, and likewise for such strangers as might be infected with it. In consequence of these resolves, the Eastern Shore line of stages was stopt in the course of a few days afterwards.

The alarm in New York was first officially announced by a letter from the mayor to the practising physicians, dated September 11th, in which he requested them to report to him in writing the names of all such persons as had arrived, or should arrive, from Philadelphia, or any other place, by land or water, and were, or should be sick; and that such as should be deemed subjects of infectious diseases, might be removed out of the city. He notified them, that the corporation had taken measures to provide a proper place as an hospital, for such persons as might unhappily become subjects of the fever in New York. In this letter the mayor declared his opinion, that the intercourse with Philadelphia could not be lawfully interrupted by any power in the state. The 12th appeared a proclamation from Governor Clinton, which, referring to the "act to prevent the bring-

from Philadelphia about this time, were written by persons, whose interest it was to injure the city; and gave statements so very different, even from the very worst rumours prevailing here, that it was morally impossible the writers themselves could have believed them.

ing in, and spreading of infectious disorders," prohibited, in the terms of that act, all vessels from Philadelphia, to approach nearer to the city of New York than Bedloe's Island, about two miles distant, till duly discharged. The silence of this proclamation respecting passengers by land, seemed to imply that the governor's opinion on the subject coincided with that of the mayor.

The same day, at a meeting of the citizens, the necessity of taking some precautions was unanimously agreed upon, and a committee of seven appointed to report a plan to a meeting to be held next day. Their report, which was unanimously adopted on the 13th, recommended to hire two physicians, to assist the physician of the port in his examination of vessels; to check, as much as possible, the intercourse by stages; to acquaint the proprietors of the southern stages, that it was the earnest wish of the inhabitants, that their carriages and boats should not come to the city, during the prevalence of the disorder in Philadelphia; and to request the practitioners of physic to report, without fail, every case of fever to which they might be called, occurring in any person that had or might arrive from Philadelphia, or have intercourse with them. Not satisfied with these measures, the corporation, on the 17th, came to the resolution to stop all intercourse between the two cities; and for this purpose guards were placed at the different landings, with orders to refuse admittance to all persons coming from Philadelphia; and if any were discovered to have arrived after that date, they were to be directly sent back. Those who kept lodging houses were required to give information of all persons of the above description, under penalty of being prosecuted according to law. All good citizens were required to give information to the mayor, or any member of the committee, of any breach in the premises.

These strict precautions being eluded by the fears and the vigilance of some of the fugitives from Philadelphia, on the 23d there was a meeting held of delegates from the several wards of the city, in order to adopt more effectual measures. At this meeting, it was resolved to establish a night watch of not less than ten citizens in each ward, to guard against every attempt to enter under cover of darkness. Not yet released from their fears, they next day published an address, in which they mentioned, that, notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, many persons had been clandestinely landed upon the shores of

New York island. They therefore again called upon their fellow citizens to be cautious how they received strangers into their houses; not to fail to report all such to the mayor immediately upon their arrival; to remember the importance of the occasion; and to consider what reply they should make to the just resentment of their fellow citizens, whose lives they might expose by a criminal neglect or infidelity. They likewise peremptorily required those who kept the different ferries on the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island, to pay such attention to their address, as not to transport any person but to the public landings, and that in the day time, between sun and sun. The 30th they published a prolix address, recapitulating the various precautions they had taken—the nature of the disorder—and the numbers who had died out of Philadelphia, without communicating it to any one. They at the same time resolved, that goods, bedding, and clothing, packed up in Philadelphia, should, previous to their being brought into New York, be unpacked and exposed to the open air, in some well ventilated place, for at least forty-eight hours; that all linen or cotton clothes, or bedding, which had been used, should be well washed in several waters; and afterwards, that the whole, both such as had been and such as had not been used, should be hung up in a close room, and well smoked with the fumes of brimstone for one day, and after that again exposed for at least twenty-four hours to the open air; and that the boxes, trunks, or chests, in which they had been packed, should be cleaned and aired in the same manner; after which, being repacked, and such evidence given of their purification as the committee should require, permission might be had to bring them into the city.

The 11th of October they likewise resolved, that they would consider and publish to the world, as enemies to the welfare of the city, and the lives of its inhabitants, all those who should be so selfish, as to attempt to introduce any goods, wares, merchandise, bedding, baggage, &c. imported from, or packed up in Philadelphia, contrary to the rules prescribed by the committee, who were, they said, deputed to express the will of their fellow citizens. They recommended to the inhabitants to withstand any temptation of profit, which might attend the purchase of goods in Philadelphia, as no emolument to an individual, they added, could warrant the hazard to which such conduct might expose the city. Besides all these resolves, they published daily statements of the health of the city, to allay the fears of their fellow citizens.

On the 14th of November the committee resolved, that passengers coming from Philadelphia to New York might be admitted, in future, together with their wearing apparel, without restriction, as to time, until further orders from the committee.

The 20th, they declared that they were happy to announce to their fellow citizens, that health was restored to Philadelphia; but that real danger was still to be apprehended from the bedding and clothing of those who had been ill of the malignant fever; and that they had received satisfactory information, that attempts had been made to ship on freight considerable quantities of beds and bedding from Philadelphia for their city. They therefore resolved that it was inexpedient to admit the introduction of beds or bedding of any kind, or feathers in bags, or otherwise; also, second-hand wearing apparel of every species, coming from places infected with the yellow fever; and that whosoever should attempt so high-handed an offence as to bring them in, and endanger the lives and health of the inhabitants, would justly merit their resentment and indignation.

The inhabitants of Trenton and Lamberton associated on the 13th of September, and on the 17th passed several resolutions to guard themselves against the contagion. They resolved that the landing of all persons from Philadelphia, at any ferry or place from Lamberton to Howell's ferry, four miles above Trenton, should be guarded against; that the intercourse by water should be prohibited between Lamberton, or the head of tide water, and Philadelphia; and that all boats from Philadelphia, should be prevented from landing either goods or passengers any where between Bordentown and the head of tide water; that no person whatever should be permitted to come from Philadelphia, or Kensington, while the fever continued; that all persons who should go from within the limits of the association, to either of those places, should be prevented from returning during the continuance of the fever; and finally, that their standing committee should inquire whether any persons, not inhabitants, who had lately come from places infected, and were therefore likely to be infected themselves, were within the limits of the association, and if so, that they should be obliged instantly to withdraw beyond these limits.

The 12th of September, the Governor of Maryland published a proclamation, subjecting all vessels from Philadelphia to the performance of a quarantine, not exceeding forty days, or as much less as might be judged safe by the health officers. It

further ordered, that all persons going to Baltimore, to Havre de Grace, to the head of Elk, or, by any other route, making their way into that state from Philadelphia, or any other place known to be infected with the malignant fever, should be subject to be examined, and prevented from proceeding, by persons to be appointed for that purpose, and who were to take the advice and opinion of the medical faculty in every case, in order that private affairs and pursuits might not be unnecessarily impeded. This proclamation appointed two health officers for Baltimore.

The people of Baltimore met the 13th of September, and resolved that none of their citizens should receive into their houses any persons coming from Philadelphia, or other infected place, without producing a certificate from the health officer, or officer of patrole; and that any person who violated that resolve, should be held up to the public view, as a proper object for the resentment of the town. The 14th a party of militia was despatched to take possession of a pass on the Philadelphia road, about two miles from Baltimore, to prevent the entrance of any passengers from Philadelphia without license. Dr. Worthington, the health officer stationed at this pass, was directed to refuse permission to persons afflicted with any malignant complaint, or who had not been absent from Philadelphia, or other infected place, at least seven days. The Western Shore line of Philadelphia stages was stopped about the 18th or 19th.

The 30th, the Committee of Health resolved that no inhabitant of Baltimore, who should visit persons from Philadelphia, while performing quarantine, should be permitted to enter the town, until the time of quarantine was expired, and until it was fully ascertained that the persons he had visited were free from the infection; and that thenceforward no goods capable of conveying infection, which had been landed or packed up in Philadelphia, or other infected place, should be permitted to enter the town—nor should any baggage of travellers be admitted, until it had been exposed to the open air such length of time as the health officer might direct.

CHAPTER XI.

Proceedings at Havre de Grace—At Hagerstown—At Alexandria—At Winchester—At Boston—At Newburyport—In Rhode Island—At Newbern—At Charleston—In Georgia.—Fasting and Prayer.

The 25th of September, the inhabitants of Havre de Grace resolved that no person should be allowed to cross the Susquehannah river at that town, who did not bring a certificate of his not having lately come from Philadelphia, or any other infected place; and that the citizens of Havre would embody themselves to prevent the passage of any person without such certificate.

At Hagerstown, on the 3d of October, it was resolved, that no citizen should receive into his house any person coming from Philadelphia, supposed to be infected with the malignant fever, until he or she had produced a certificate from a health officer; that should any citizen contravene the above resolution, he should be proscribed from all society with his fellow citizens; that the clothing sent to the troops then in that town, should not be received there, nor suffered to come within seven miles thereof; that if any person from Philadelphia, or other infected place, should arrive there, he should be required instantly to depart, and in case of refusal or neglect, be compelled to go without delay; that no merchant, or other person, should be suffered to bring into the town, or open therein, any goods brought from Philadelphia, or other infected place, until permitted by their committee; and that the citizens of the town, and its vicinity, should enrol themselves as a guard, and patrole such roads and passes as the committee should direct.

The governor of Virginia, on the 17th of September, issued a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, the Grenades, and the island of Tobago, to perform a quarantine of twenty days, at the anchorage ground, off Craney island, near the mouth of Elizabeth river.

The corporation of Alexandria stationed a look-out boat, to prevent all vessels bound to that port, from approaching nearer than one mile, until after examination by the health officer.

The people of Winchester placed guards at every avenue of the town leading from the Potomac, to stop all suspected persons, packages, &c. coming from Philadelphia, till the health officers should inspect them, and either forbid or allow them to pass.

The legislature of Masachusetts was in session, at the time the alarm spread; and accordingly passed an act for guarding against the impending danger. This act authorized the selectmen in the different towns, to stop and examine any persons' baggage, merchandise, or effects, coming or supposed to be coming into the towns respectively, from Philadelphia, or other place infected, or supposed to be infected; and should it appear to them, or to any officers whom they should appoint, that any danger of infection was to be apprehended from such persons, effects, baggage, or merchandise, they were empowered to detain or remove the same to such places as they might see proper, in order that they might be purified from infection; or to place any persons so coming, in such places, and under such regulations as they might judge necessary for the public safety. In pursuance of this act, the governor issued a proclamation to carry it into effect, the 21st of September.

The selectmen of Boston, on the 24th, published their regulations of quarantine, which ordered, that on the arrival of any vessel from Philadelphia, she should be detained at, or near Rainsford's Island, to perform a quarantine not exceeding thirty days, during which time she should be cleansed with vinegar, and the explosion of gunpowder between the decks and in the cabin, even though there were no sick persons on board; that in case there were, they should be removed to an hospital, where they should be detained till they recovered or were long enough to ascertain that they had not the infection; that every vessel, performing quarantine, should be deprived of its boat, and no boat suffered to approach it, but by special permission; that if any persons should escape from vessels performing quarantine, they should be instantly advertised, in order that they might be apprehended; that no persons coming by land from Philadelphia, should be allowed to enter Boston, until twenty-one days after their arrival; and that their effects, baggage, and merchandise should be opened, washed with vinegar, and fumigated with repeated explosions of gunpowder. In the conclusion, the selectmen called upon the inhabitants "to use their utmost vigilance and activity to bring to

condign punishment, any person who should be so daring and lost to every idea of humanity, as to come into the town from any place supposed to be infected, thereby endangering the lives of his fellow men."

The 23d of September, the selectmen of Newburyport notified the pilots not to bring any vessels from Philadelphia, higher up Merrimack river, than the black rocks, until they should be examined by the health officer, and a certificate be obtained from him, of their being free from infection.

The governor of Rhode Island, the 21st of September, issued a proclamation, directing the town councils and other officers, to use their utmost vigilance to cause the law to prevent the spreading of contagious disorders to be strictly executed, more especially with respect to all vessels which should arrive in that state, from the West Indies, Philadelphia, and New York; the extension of the precaution to the latter place was owing to the danger apprehended from the intercourse between it and Philadelphia.

The 28th of September, the governor of North Carolina published a proclamation; requiring the commissioners of navigation in the different ports of the said state, to appoint certain places, where all vessels from the port of Philadelphia, or any other place in which the malignant fever might prevail, should perform quarantine for such number of days as they might think proper.

The commissioners of Newbern, on the 30th of September, ordered that until full liberty should be given, vessels arriving from Philadelphia, or any other place in which an infectious disorder might be, should, under a penalty of five hundred pounds, come to anchor at least one mile below the town, and there perform a quarantine for at least ten days, unless their captains should produce from inspectors appointed for the purpose, a certificate that in their opinion the vessels might, with safety to the inhabitants, proceed to the town or harbour, and there land their passengers or cargo. The 18th of October, they ordered, that if any free man should go on board any vessel from Philadelphia, &c. or should bring from on board such vessel, any goods or merchandise, before she was permitted to land her cargo or passengers, he should, for every offence, forfeit five pounds; and if any slave should offend as above, he should be liable to be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes, and his master to the payment of five pounds.

The governor of South Carolina published a proclamation, subjecting Philadelphia vessels to quarantine, the date of which I cannot ascertain. The inhabitants of Charleston, on the 8th of October, had a meeting, at which they resolved, that no vessel from the river Delaware, either directly or after having touched at any other port of the United States, should be permitted to pass Charleston bar, till the citizens had again assembled, and declared themselves satisfied that the disorder had ceased in Philadelphia. If any vessel, contrary thereto, should cross the bar, the governor should be requested to compel it to quit the port, and return to sea.

The governor of Georgia, on the 4th of October, published a proclamation, ordering all vessels from Philadelphia, which should arrive in Savannah river, to remain in Tybee creek, or in other parts equally distant from the town, until the health officer of the port should, on examination, certify, that no malignant or contagious disease was on board. All persons contravening this proclamation, were to be prosecuted, and subjected to the pains and penalties provided by law.

The people of Augusta, in that state, were as active and vigilant as their northern neighbours, to guard against the threatening danger.

The inhabitants of Reading, in Pennsylvania, had a meeting the 24th of September, and passed sundry resolutions, viz. that no dry goods should be imported into that borough from Philadelphia, or any other place infected with a malignant fever, until the expiration of one month from that date, unless permission were had from the inhabitants convened in town-meeting; that no persons from Philadelphia, or any other infected place, should be allowed to enter, until they had undergone the examination of a physician, and obtained his certificate of their being free from infection; that no stage-wagon should be permitted to bring into the borough passengers from Philadelphia, or other place infected; and that all communication, by stages, with this city should be discontinued for one month, unless sooner permitted by the inhabitants.

At Bethlehem, a meeting was held on the 26th of September; at which it was resolved, that persons from Philadelphia, should perform a quarantine of twelve days, before their entrance into the town. A similar resolve was soon after entered into at Nazareth. But at neither place was it observed with any strictness. No guard was appointed. And the as-

sertion of any decent traveller, apparently in health, with respect to the time of his absence from Philadelphia, was considered as sufficient to be relied on, without resorting to formal proof.

Various precautions were observed in other places, of which I am not able to give a statement, not having procured an account of their resolves or proceedings.

The calamity of Philadelphia, while it roused the circumspection of the timid in various places, excited the pious to offer up their prayers to Almighty God for our relief, comfort, and support. Various days were appointed for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, for this purpose. In New York, the 20th of September; in Boston, September 26th; in Albany, the 1st of October; in Baltimore, the 3d; in Richmond, the 9th; in Providence, the same day; the synod of Philadelphia, fixed on the 24th of October; the Protestant Episcopal churches in Virginia, November 6; the Dutch synod of New York, November 13; the synod of New York and New Jersey, November 20. At Hartford, daily prayers were for some time offered up for our relief.

CHAPTER XII.

Conflict between the Law of Self-preservation and the Law of Charity. The Law of Charity victorious.

While our citizens were proscribed in several cities and towns—hunted up like felons in some—debarred admittance and turned back in others, whether sound or infected—it is with extreme satisfaction I have to record a conduct totally different, which ought to make a strong impression on the minds of the people of Philadelphia, and call forth lively emotions of gratitude.

At Woodbury, in New Jersey, at an early period of the disorder, a meeting was held for the purpose of determining on what steps were requisite to be taken. A motion was made to suspend intercourse with Philadelphia. But, four persons only having risen to support it, it was of course rejected, and our citizens were allowed free entrance.

A respectable number of the inhabitants of Springfield, in

New Jersey, met the first day of October, and after a full consideration of the distresses of our citizens, passed a resolve, offering their town as an asylum to the people flying from Philadelphia, and directing their committee to provide a suitable place as an hospital for the sick. The Rev. Jacob V. Artsdalen, Matthias Meeker, and Matthias Denman, took the lead in this honourable business.

I have been informed, by a person of credit, that the inhabitants of Elizabethtown have pursued the same liberal plan, as those of Springfield; but have not been able to procure a copy of their resolves or proceedings on the subject.

At Chestertown in Maryland, a place was appointed, at a distance from the town, for the reception of such travellers and others, as might have the disorder. It was provided with every necessary—and a physician engaged to attend the sick.

An asylum has likewise been offered to Philadelphians, by several of the inhabitants of Elkton, in Maryland; and the offer was couched in terms of the utmost sympathy for our sufferings. A place on the same plan as that at Chester, was fitted up near the town.

At Easton, in Pennsylvania, the only precaution observed, was to direct the emigrants from Philadelphia, to abstain for a week from intercourse with the inhabitants.

The people of Wilmington have acted in the most friendly manner towards our distressed citizens. At first they were considerably alarmed, and resolved on the establishment of a quarantine and guards. But they immediately laid aside these precautions, and received fugitives from Philadelphia with the most perfect freedom. They erected an hospital for the reception of our infected citizens, which they supplied with necessaries. Yet of eight or ten persons from Philadelphia, who died in that town, with the malignant fever, only one was sent to the hospital. The others were nursed and attended in the houses where they fell sick. Humane, tender, and friendly, as were the worthy inhabitants of Wilmington in general, two characters have so far distinguished themselves, as to deserve particular notice. These are Doctor Way, and Major Bush, whose houses were always open to the fugitives from Philadelphia, whom they received without the smallest apprehension, and treated with a degree of genuine hospitality, that reflects great honour on them. In the exercise of this virtue, they were not confined by a narrow regard to their particular friends or ac-

quaintance—but entertained, with equal humanity, whole families of persons who were entire strangers to them. This was of the more importance, and operated as a heavier tax on them, as, I believe, there was only one tavern-keeper, Brinton, whose house was open for people from Philadelphia: and it was consequently so crowded in general, as frequently to render it difficult to procure admittance.

The instances of this kind, through this extensive country, have been but few; they are, therefore, only the more precious, and ought to be held up to public approbation. May they operate at a future day, in similar cases of dreadful calamity, and teach people to temper their caution with as much humanity and tenderness to distressed fugitives, as prudence will allow—and not involve, in one indiscriminate proscription, the healthy and infected.

CHAPTER XIII.

Disorder fatal to the Doctors—to the Clergy—to Drunkards—to Filles de Joie—to Maid Servants—to the Poor—and in close streets.—Less destructive to the French, and to the Negroes.

Rarely has it happened, that so large a proportion of the gentlemen of the faculty have sunk beneath the labours of their very dangerous profession, as on this occasion. In five or six weeks, exclusive of medical students, no less than ten physicians have been swept off, Doctors Hutchinson, Morris, Linn, Pennington, Dodds, Johnson, Glentworth, Phile, Graham and Green. Scarcely one of the practising doctors who remained in the city, escaped sickness. Some were three, four, and five times confined.

To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed, in the exercise of the last duties to the dying, to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the Rev. Alexander Murray, of the Protestant Episcopal church—the Rev. F. A. Fleming and the Rev. Laurence Graessl of the Roman Catholic—the Rev. John Winkhause, of the German Reformed—the Rev. James Sproat, of the Presbyterian—the Rev. William Dougherty, of the Methodist church—and likewise four noted preach-

ers of the Friends society, Daniel Offley, Huson Langstroth, Michael Minier, and Charles Williams. Seven clergymen have been in the greatest danger from this disorder, the Rev. R. Blackwell, Rev. Joseph Pilmore, Rev. William Rogers, Rev. Christopher V. Keating, Rev. Frederic Schmidt, the Rev. Joseph Turner, and the Rev. Robert Annan; but they have all recovered.

Among the women, the mortality has not, by any means, been so great, as among the men,* nor among the old and infirm as among the middle-aged and robust.

To tipplers and drunkards, and gourmands, and persons of a corpulent habit of body, this disorder was very fatal. Of these, many were seized, and the recoveries were very rare.

To the *filles de joie*, it has been equally fatal. The wretched, debilitated state of their constitutions, rendered them an easy prey to this dreadful disorder, which very soon terminated their miserable career.

To hired servant maids it has been very destructive. Numbers of them fled away—of those who remained, very many fell, who had behaved with an extraordinary degree of fidelity.

It has been dreadfully destructive among the poor. It is very probable, that at least seven-eighths of the number of the dead, were of that class. The inhabitants of dirty houses have severely expiated their neglect of cleanliness and decency, by the numbers of them that have fallen sacrifices. Whole families, in such houses, have sunk into one silent, undistinguishing grave.

The mortality in confined streets, small alleys, and close houses, debarred of a free circulation of air, has, as might naturally be expected, exceeded, in a great proportion, that in the large streets and well-aired houses. In some of the alleys, a third or fourth of the whole of the inhabitants are no more. In thirty houses, the whole number in Pewter Platter alley, thirty-two people died: but in a part of Market street, containing one hundred and seventy houses, only thirty nine. The streets in the suburbs, which had the benefit of a free circulation of air, especially towards the west part of the city, have suffered little. Of the wide, airy streets, none lost so many people as Arch, near Water street, which may be accounted

* In many congregations, the deaths of men have been nearly twice as numerous as those of women.

for, by its proximity to the original seat of the disorder. It is to be particularly remarked, that in general, the more remote the streets were from Water street, the less of the calamity they experienced.

From the effects of this disorder the French newly settled in Philadelphia, have been in a very remarkable degree exempt.* To what this may be owing, is a subject deserving particular investigation.† By some it has been ascribed to their despising the danger. But, though this may have had some effect, it will not certainly account for it altogether; as it is well known that many of the most courageous persons in Philadelphia, have been among its victims. By many of the French, the great fatality of the disorder has been attributed to the vast quantities of crude and unwholesome fruits brought to our markets, and consumed by all classes of people.

When the yellow fever prevailed in South Carolina, the negroes, according to that accurate observer, Dr. Lining, were wholly free from it. "There is something very singular in the constitution of the negroes," says he, "which renders them not liable to this fever; for though many of them were as much exposed as the nurses to this infection, yet I never knew one instance of this fever among them, though they are equally subject with the white people to the bilious fever."‡ The same idea prevailed for a considerable time in Philadelphia; but it was erroneous. They did not escape the disorder; however, there were scarcely any of them seized at first, and the number that were finally affected, was not great; and, it is asserted, by an eminent doctor, "it yielded to the power of medicine in them more easily than in the whites." The error that prevailed on this subject had a salutary effect; for, at an early period of the disorder, few white nurses could be procured; and, had the negroes been equally terrified, the sufferings of the sick, great as they actually were, would have been exceedingly aggravated. At the period alluded to, the elders of the African church met, and offered their assistance to the

* The French who had been long established here, were nearly as much affected as the natives.

† The frequent use the French make of *lavements*, at all times, may probably account for their escaping so very generally as they did. These purify the bowels, help to discharge the foul matter, and remove costiveness, which is one of the most certain supports of this and various other disorders.

‡ Essays and Observations, vol. ii. page 407.

Mayor, to procure nurses for the sick, and aid in burying the dead. Their offers were accepted; and Absalom Jones, Richard Allen, and William Gray, undertook the management of these two several services. The great demand for nurses, afforded an opportunity for imposition, which was eagerly seized by some of those who acted in that capacity, both coloured and white. They extorted two, three, four, and even five dollars a night for such attendance, as would have been well paid for, by a single dollar. Some of them were even detected in plundering the houses of the sick.

On examining the books of the hospital at Bushhill, it appears, that there were nearly twenty coloured people received there, of whom about three-fourths died.

CHAPTER XIV.

Origin of the Disorder.

This disorder has most unquestionably been imported from the West Indies. As yet, however, owing to various obvious reasons, it is difficult to fix, with absolute precision, on the vessel or vessels, (for it is very probable it came in several, from the different infected islands) by which it was introduced. That it is an imported disorder, rests on the following reasons, each of which singly, renders the theory plausible, but all, collectively, establish it to the satisfaction of every candid and reasonable man.

1st. The yellow fever existed in several of the West India Islands a long time before its appearance here.* From which islands various vessels arrived here in July.

* *Extract from a London paper, of August* 13, 1793.

"The plague, brought from Bulam, which first made its appearance at Grenada, has spread most alarmingly. Eighty persons died in one day at Grenada of this epidemic. The hurricane months just coming on, are not likely to make it less violent in its effects."

["It appears by a subsequent paragraph in the same paper, that the disease was ascertained to be the yellow fever."]

Extract from the Courier, a London paper, of August 24.

"Before the fleet left Antigua, so great was the apprehension entertained there of the plague, that all vessels from Grenada, were obliged to perform

2d. Scarcely any precautions were used to guard against the disorder.

3d. A respectable citizen of Philadelphia, supercargo of one of our vessels, saw, in July, six or seven people sick of this fever on board a brig at Cape François bound for our port.*

4th. A vessel from Cape François, which arrived here in July, lost several of her people with this fever, on her passage.

6th. A person from Cape François, died of this fever at Marcus Hook†—and another at Chester.‡

7th. The vessels in which those persons arrived, and which were infected with the effluvia of the sick and dead, came freely to our wharves, and particularly to that very one where the disorder made its first appearance.

8th. Persons sick of the yellow fever have been landed in our city from vessels arrived from the West Indies.§

9th. There is the strongest reason to believe, that the beds and bedding of the sick and dead were not destroyed, but, on the contrary, brought into our city.

10th. This disorder had every characteristic symptom that marked it on former occasions, when its importation was unquestioned.

Lastly, Of all the reasons advanced to support the opinion of its having been generated here, the only one, that has even the appearance of plausibility, viz. the influence of a tropical

quarantine; and all letters from the latter island, were smoked at the former. The infection was reported to have reached Dominica."

Extract from the Observer, a London paper, of August 25.

"The plague, we are distressed to hear, has made its appearance in several of our West India Islands. At Grenada, and Dominica, the symptoms are said to be highly alarming."

Extract from a Kingston paper, of October 12.

"The islands of Barbadoes and Dominica continue to be afflicted with a malignant fever: about 300 white inhabitants have perished in the former, and near 500 in the latter."

* To any inquirer I am ready to communicate the name of the supercargo, and the name of the brig.

† I do hereby declare, that I was at Marcus Hook late in July, when a woman, who had been landed there from one of the vessels lately from Cape François, died; that I was informed by a French person, a neighbour, that she died of the yellow fever; that this person burned a quantity of tar at the door, for the purpose, as he informed me, of purifying the air.—JOHN MASSEY.

‡ My information of the death of this person is derived from a letter written by Dr. William Martin to Dr. Currie.

§ Major Hodgdon and others can testify to the truth of this.

season, such as we had last summer, is unanswerably refuted by the concurring testimony of Hillary, Lind, Lining, Warren, and Bruce, who, in the most unequivocal manner, have declared that it does not depend on the weather.

"It does not appear, from the most accurate observations of the variations of the weather, or any difference of the seasons, which I have been able to make for several years past, that this fever is *any way caused*, or much influenced by them; for I have seen it *at all times* and in *all seasons*, in the *coolest*, *as well* as in the hottest time of the year."*

"This fever *does not* seem to take its origin from *any particular constitution* of the weather, independent of infectious miasmata, *as Dr. Warren has formerly well observed;* for within these twenty-five years, it has been only four times epidemical in this town, namely in the autumns of the years 1732, 39, 45, and 48, though none of those years, (excepting that of 1739, whose summer and autumn were remarkably rainy) were either warmer or more rainy, (and some of them less so) than the summers and autumns were in several other years, in which we had not one instance of any one seized with this fever: which is contrary to what would have happened, *if particular constitutions of the weather, were productive of it*, without infectious miasmata."†

"In *omni anni tempestate*, sese effert hic morbus; symptomata autem graviora observantur, ubi calor magnus cum multa humiditate conjungitur."‡

CHAPTER XV.

State of the weather. Attempt to refute the opinion that cold and rain extinguished the Disorder. Average-table of mortality.

The weather, during the whole of the months of August and September, and most part of October, was generally remarkably dry and sultry. Rain appeared as if entirely at an end. Various indications, which formerly had rarely failed to produce wet weather, disappointed the expectations, the wishes,

* Hillary on Diseases of Barbadoes, page 146.
† Lining, Essays and Observations, political and literary, vol. ii. page 406.
‡ Bruce, quoted by Lind on Hot Climates, 227.

and the prayers of the citizens. The disorder raged with increased violence as the season advanced towards the fall months. The mortality was much greater in September, than in August—and still greater in the beginning and till the middle of October, than in September. It very particularly merits attention, that though nearly all the hopes of the inhabitants rested on cold and rain, especially the latter, yet the disorder died away with hardly any rain, and a very moderate degree of cold. Its virulence may be said to have expired on the 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th of October. The succeeding deaths were, mostly, of those long sick. Few persons took the disorder afterwards. Those days were nearly as warm as many of the most fatal ones; in the middle stage of the complaint, the thermometer being at 60, 59, 71, and 72. To account for this satisfactorily, is above our feeble powers. In fact, the whole of the disorder, from its first appearance to its final close, has set human wisdom and calculation at defiance.

The idea held up in the preceding paragraph, has been controverted by many; and, as the extinction of malignant disorders, generated in summer or the early part of fall, has been universally ascribed to the severe cold and heavy rains of the close of the fall, or the winter, it is asserted that ours must have shared the same fate. It therefore becomes necessary to state the reasons for the contrary opinion.

The extinction of these disorders, according to the generally received idea on this subject, arises from cold, or rain, or both together. If from the former, how shall we account for a greater mortality in September, than in August, whereas the degree of heat was considerably abated? How shall we account for a greater mortality in the first part of October than in September, although the heat was still abating? If rain be the efficient cause of arresting the disorder, as is supposed by those who attribute its declension to the rain on the evening of the 15th* of October, how shall we account for the inefficacy of a constant rain during the whole terrible twelfth of October, when one hundred and eleven souls were summoned out of this world, and a hundred and four the day following? To make the matter more plain, I request the reader's attention to the following statement:—

* The rain on this evening was not by any means so great as that on the 12th.

	Ther. at 3 P.M.	Deaths.	Wind.	Weather.
Sept. 19	70	61	S.W.	fair.
20	69	67	S.E.	hazy.
21	78	57		fair.
22	83	76		fair.
Oct. 10	74	93	N.W.	fair.
11	74	119	W.	fair.
12	64	111	N.W.	rain.
13	69	104	N.W.	fair.
23	60	54	W.	fair.
24	59	38	N.W.	fair.
25	71	35	S.	fair, high wind.
26	72	23	S.W.	cloudy.

An examination of this table, by any man unbiassed by the received opinion, will, I think, convince him of the justice of the hypothesis which I have advanced—that the increase or abatement of the violence of the disorder, depended on other causes than the degree of heat, cold, rainy or dry weather. Here is the most palpable proof. The average of the thermometer, the four first quoted days, was 75°—the average of the deaths 65.5. The second four days, although the thermometer averaged only 70.25, the frightful average of deaths was, 106.75. And on the last four days, the thermometer averaged 65.5, whereas the deaths were only 37.5. To facilitate the comparison, I subjoin an abstract of the preceding statement.

	Therm.	Deaths.
Average of Sept. 19, 20, 21, and 22,	75	65
Oct. 10, 11, 12, and 13,	70.25	106.75
Oct. 23, 24, 25, and 26,	65.5	37.5

Thus, those days on which the mortality was at its highest stage, were five degrees colder than those when the deaths had been only five-eighths of the number. And the difference of five degrees between the second and the third four days, will not be pretended to account for a decrease of very nearly two-thirds. There does not appear to have been any frost until after the disorder had entirely subsided.

I here annex the weekly average of the thermometer and of the deaths, from the 1st of August to the 7th of November, for the reader's inspection.*

* When the fractions exceed half, an unit is added; when they are below half, they are rejected.

		Average of Therm.	Average of Deaths.
August	1 to 7,	84	9
	8 to 14,	85	7
	15 to 21,	83	7
	22 to 28,	77	15
	29 to 31,	85	17
Sept.	1 to 7,	81	19
	8 to 14,	74	35
	15 to 21,	75	65
	22 to 28,	76	70
	29 and 30,	74	60
Oct.	1 to 7,	71	72
	8 to 14,	71	100
	15 to 21,	58	67
	22 to 28,	58	39
	29 to 31,	46	18
Nov.	1 to 7,	58	15

From the above table it appears, that during the month of September, there was a rapid increase of deaths regularly, except on the 29th and 30th, although the weather was growing cooler nearly the whole time. Let any advocate of the theory of cold and rain, compare the first week in September with the second week in October. He will see that the former was ten degrees warmer than the latter, yet the mortality of the one, was only a fifth part of the other. If he will, after this, say that the difference of 13 degrees between the second week in October and the 3d and 4th, will account for a reduction of the mortality from 100 to 67, and then to 39, I can only answer, that an inveterate prejudice too often clouds the reason, and renders it impossible to see the truth, however evident.

In opposition to what I have advanced, it has been observed, that the unfavourable effects of very sultry days were felt for several succeeding ones. This is a weak resource, as will appear from examining the table. The heat of the first and second weeks in October was the same: yet the mortality in the second was nearly one half more than in the first. The heat of the fourth was equal to that of the third, although in the former the deaths were nearly double what they were in the latter.

I hope, therefore, the reader will acknowledge, that the Great Disposer of winds and rains, took his own time, and without the means, either moral or physical, on which we placed our chief reliance, to rescue the remnant of us from destruction.

CHAPTER XVI.

*Desultory Facts and Reflections.—A collection of Scraps.**

The want of a Lazaretto, whither persons labouring under contagious disorders, might be sent, and of an adequate law on the subject, empowering the civil authority to interpose with the necessary energy, at the first inroad of such a dreadful destroyer, has been probably the chief cause of our late sufferings; for, humanly speaking, had decisive measures been adopted any time before the first of September, while the disorder existed only in one street, and in a few houses in that street, there can be little doubt, that it might have been very soon extinguished. But the former sufferings of this place in 1762, were forgotten—and no steps had been taken to provide for the removal of such an evil in future, after it should invade the city. It is to be hoped, our legislature, as well as that of every state in the union, will see the propriety of giving this important subject the consideration it so amply deserves, and of making provision against like calamities in future. In Italy, at Spalatro, where the plague raged fifteen or twenty years ago, if the infected did not reveal their situation to the proper authority, they were subjected to capital punishment; and the same penalty was denounced against such as did not inform of infected persons, when they knew of them. This is too severe for the paternal mildness of our criminal code; but some penalties ought to be denounced in such cases. Indeed, were Lazarettos on a proper establishment, it would be an object of desire with the sick, to be transported to them.

It is hardly conceivable that the funeral of entire strangers could afford subject of satisfaction. Yet they have produced that effect. After being so long accustomed to behold the bo-

* This and the succeeding chapter calls for some apology. Many of the anecdotes herein related, are of little importance, except from their having a tendency to reflect light on the state of the public mind during a time in which men were most completely taken by surprise. Considering the subject in this point of view, hardly any occurrence, of so eventful a period, ought to be suffered to sink into oblivion. Some, of a ludicrous turn, are introduced as a relief to the sombre complexion of a narrative, in which the predominant characters are death and destruction, and a cold regard for self alone.

dies of the dead, drawn to the grave on the shafts of a chair, the sight of a corpse carried by men to the grave yard, afforded something like the appearance of former times; and I believe the satisfaction excited by that consideration absorbed every thought of the deceased.

The appearance of most of the grave yards in Philadelphia is extremely awful. They exhibit a strong likeness of ploughed fields; and were any thing capable of stamping on our breasts indelible impressions of the uncertainty of the tenure by which we hold our very precarious existence, a turn through one of our burial grounds could not possibly fail to produce that effect. But it is to be feared, that with the danger will vanish all recollection of the distressing scenes we have passed through.

It has been denied that a person is twice susceptible of the yellow fever. The opinion, as it has a good tendency, to inspire confidence in convalescents, and in those who have quite recovered, might perhaps as well be suffered to pass uncontroverted, were not truth the object. Several persons in this city, have been twice sick with this disorder. I know it is usual to call this a relapse. But relapse or not, those people whom I mean, have been ill—have recovered entirely—and been a second time taken down. Some of them are now no more, witness Mr. Fleming. Mr. William Young was worse the second time than the first, but has quite recovered.

One observation, of great importance to the cause of humanity, escaped me in the former editions, and ought to be very particularly attended to in every such dreadful crisis as we have experienced. Of the very large number of persons who have fallen under this disorder, it is not improbable that a third or a fourth have perished in the early stages of the disorder, merely for want of necessary care and attention, owing to the extraordinary panic. Almost all the remarkable cases of recovery are to be ascribed, under providence, to the fidelity of husbands, wives, children, and servants, who braved the danger, and determined to obey the dictates of humanity. There are various instances of persons who may be said to have been by these means snatched from the grasp of death; having been so far reduced, as to have their coffins made.—And for the encouragement of those who may, at any other time, or in any other place, have friends or relatives in this disorder, let it be remarked, that few of those who discharged their duty to their

families, have suffered by it. There are instances of individuals, who have nursed and attended on six, eight and ten persons unremittingly, in their own houses, without taking the infection. Others, before their illness, and after their recovery, nursed and restored their families. William Young had no less than ten in his house sick, and nearly all at one time. He attended on them until he was taken ill; and, during his sickness, gave directions for the management of them, as effectually as if he were well. After his recovery, he again attended them himself. Of his whole family, his wife only died; and it is supposed that her death was accelerated by her being in an advanced stage of pregnancy. There are cases of single persons having the disorder in large families of eight, ten, and twelve, and none catching it from them. In the family of David Clarke, who died of the malignant fever, there were no less than twenty-two persons, not one of whom caught the infection, although he had the same attention paid him by all his family, as if he had been in any other disorder. Not one of the carters employed by the committee in the very dangerous office of removing the sick and burying the dead, ever had it.* The nurses at Bushhill have all escaped, except two; as have the worthy managers. Thomas Boyles, the tenant, who occupied the building at Bushhill, at the time it was taken as an hospital, that is, the 31st of August, lived there until the 29th of October, with his wife and six children, none of whom were ever affected with the malignant fever. Let these instances suffice at all future times to prevent fear from totally overpowering the understanding, and producing scenes of cruelty which make a feeling being blush for his species.

Among the country people, large quantities of wild pigeons in the spring are regarded as certain indications of an unhealthy summer. Whether or not this prognostic has ever been verified before, I cannot tell. But it is very certain, that

* Let not the humble sphere of life in which he moves, prevent me from here mentioning a worthy and faithful man, Thomas Wilkinson, employed by the Committee, in burying the dead, and removing the sick, from their organization till the extinction of the disorder. Such was the noxious situation of many dead bodies, that he frequently returned vomiting from the performance of his duty. In one instance, in raising the corpse of a woman several days dead, he was covered with putrescent blood. Yet he still persevered in the most unwearied manner, through dangers, that render his preservation equally astonishing with that of Girard, Helm, Helmuth, Mrs. Saville, and others.

during the last spring, the numbers of those birds brought to market, were immense. Never, perhaps, were there so many before.

Several classes of people were highly benefited by the public distress. Coffin-makers had full employment, and in general high prices for their work. Most of the retail stores being shut up, those that remained open, had an uncommon demand; as the whole of the business was divided among a few. Those who had carriages to hire, to transport families to the country, received whatever they pleased to require. The holders of houses at from three, to twenty miles from the city, who chose to rent the whole or part of them, had high rents. The two notaries, who protested for the banks, profited highly by the absence of the merchants and traders.

I have learned with great pleasure, that a few landlords, commiserating the distresses of their tenants, have come to the very humane resolution of remitting the payment of rents due during the prevalence of the disorder. Were they to enter into resolutions generally to do the same, it would reflect honour on them. But there are some, whose hardened hearts know no compassion, and who will have "the pound of flesh—the penalty of the bond." Indeed, when the disorder was at the highest stage, some landlords seized the small property of poor roomkeepers, who were totally unable to pay their rent. A man wrote to the Committee, informing them that the poverty of his tenants rendered it impossible for them to pay him; he therefore begged the Committee would, as they were appointed to relieve the poor, pay the arrears due him!

A man lost his wife with the disorder. He had it himself, lost his sight totally, and was left pennyless, with two infant children. Yet his landlord, before his convalescence was complete, seized his clothes and furniture, and turned him out of doors!!!

> "You may as well use question with the wolf,
> Why he hath made the ewe bleat for the lamb,
> As seek to soften that (than which what's harder?)
> His flinty heart."——— SHAKSPEARE.

I hope the reader takes more pleasure in perusing cases reflecting honour on human nature, than those of a different description. An amiable woman in New York, feeling for the situation of the numerous orphans in the city, wrote to a member of the Committee, to choose her one of them, as nearly as

possible resembling a child she had lost, whom she described. She particularly desired one without connexions, if such could be procured. She proposes to adopt it, and, with her husband, to bestow on it all the tenderness one of her own would have had. Would it not be unjust to withhold her name? Every reader answers, yes—and I will therefore reveal it—Susan Willet. Several applications of a similar nature have been made by some of our own citizens.

In the summer of 1791, the yellow fever prevailed in New York, in a part of Water street, and in proportion to the sphere of its action, was as fatal there as it has been here. It began in August, and continued till the middle of September, when it totally disappeared, and has never since visited that place. This should ease the fears of many among us, who, always viewing the black side of every thing, terrify people with their prognostications, that we shall have it again next spring or summer. All the symptoms were full as dangerous and alarming in New York, as in Philadelphia. Many persons died in three days; "stupor, delirium, yellowness, the black vomit, and death, rapidly succeeding each other."* It spread no farther at that time, than the one street, although no precautions, as far as I can learn, were taken to prevent its extension. The same species of disorder raged in this city in 1762, with great violence. It disappeared in the month of November, and has not from that time until this year visited Philadelphia.

The summer and fall of this year have been unhealthy in many parts of the union, as well as in Philadelphia. At Lynn, in Massachusetts, I have been informed, that a malignant fever, not unlike ours, prevailed in August. In many of the towns of Virginia, intermittent fevers have been much more prevalent and mortal than they have been at former periods. Georgetown and its vicinity, which are in general very healthy, lost, in the course of a few weeks in summer, an unexampled number of people by the flux, which disorder has raged with great violence in many parts of America. The influenza has generally spread throughout the union, and been very fatal. It has been twice in Vermont, where likewise the putrid sore throat has carried off numbers. At Harrisburg and Middletown, in this state, the flux and a putrid fever have been extremely destruc-

* Letter from a physician in New York, to his friend in New Jersey. Federal Gazette, Sept. 21, 1793.

tive, and swept away, I am credibly informed, a fifteenth part of the inhabitants. Delaware state, particularly Kent county, has suffered much from fall fevers, which have produced a very great mortality. At Dover, in the same state, a bilious colic raged with great violence, during last summer, and was extremely fatal. At Pauling's Kill, in Sussex county, New Jersey, a bilious and remittent fever has made very great havoc. And various other places have experienced a mortality, very uncommon, and which, but for the calamity of Philadelphia absorbing public attention every where, and being the standard of comparison, would have created great alarms and uneasiness.

Of the number of citizens who fled away, it is difficult to form any accurate estimate. In the city, from Vine to South street, which has been surveyed by a man employed by the Committee, of 21,000 inhabitants, the number of absent people is stated to be 8600. But as this business was several weeks performing, considerable variations must necessarily have taken place. The emigration was not finished in those streets examined in the early part of his progress,—and towards the latter part, the returns had been already considerable. One may be supposed to balance the other, and the removals in the liberties to have been equal to those in the city. We shall therefore probably not err much, when we estimate the number who left the city at about 17,000. This is not so many as I formerly supposed, having estimated them at 23,000. Which of the two is accurate, or whether either of them is so, I leave the reader to determine.

The effect of fear in predisposing the body for the yellow fever and other disorders, and increasing their malignity, when taken, is well known. The following exception to the general rule, which may be depended on, is curious and interesting. A young woman, whose fears were so very prevalent, as not only to render her unhappy from the commencement of the disorder, but even to interfere with the happiness of the family with whom she lived, had to attend on seven persons, all of whom were in a very dangerous state, and one of whom died. Her attendance was assiduous and unremitted for nearly three weeks. Yet she has never been in the slightest degree affected.

The watches and clocks in this city, during the disorder, were almost always wrong. Scarcely any of the watchmakers remained—and few people paid attention how time passed. One night, the watchmen cried ten o'clock when it was only nine, and continued the mistake all the succeeding hours.

The Hope, a vessel from Londonderry, arrived in our river towards the end of August. The passengers had a malignant disorder among them, in consequence of which, orders were issued to have them landed at State Island, that they might undergo examination. Nevertheless, several of them came to the city, and added to the dangers already existing. The Mayor, on the 3d of September, issued a proclamation, calling upon the citizens not only to use their endeavours to detect such as had arrived, and to prevent others from coming, without procuring the proper certificates; but to make report to one of the magistrates, of the names of those by whom they were harboured, that they might be prosecuted according to law. On this subject an obvious reflection arises, which I will not suppress. Our citizens have generally been in the habit of severely censuring the inhabitants of those places in which very strict precautions were taken, to prevent the spreading of the disorder that prevailed here; and yet we see that our own conduct, in a case nearly similar, has not been very different. I would not wish to be understood as if I meant to justify the whole of the proceedings that took place every where; far from it; some of them have been to the last degree severe, and unnecessarily so; for all the cautions requisite, were compatible with attention to the comfort and convenience of fellow citizens, in good health, travelling for business, for pleasure, or the preservation of health, and even of life.—Whereas in many places it would appear as if the harshest mode of carrying harsh measures into effect, were adopted. My intention is merely to show, that such as indiscriminately vilify those who have resorted to precautions dictated by prudence, do not weigh the matter in the scales of impartial justice.

Governor Moultrie's proclamation, announcing the existence of the malignant fever in the Grenadas, &c., and ordering a quarantine, is dated the 7th of June.

Some of the postmasters, in the different States, used the precaution to dip Philadelphia letters into vinegar with a pair of tongs, before they handled them. Several of the subscribers for Philadelphia papers, made their servants sprinkle them with vinegar, and dry them at the fire, before they would venture to touch them.

Joseph Inskeep attended several sick persons in a family near him. When he was ill himself, he wanted assistance,* and sent

* His wife was ill at the same time.

for some of them to attend him—but they ungratefully refused! O shame! where is thy blush?

Many of our citizens who fled from the city, neglected or forgot to leave their servants money enough for their support; so that some of these poor creatures had to depend for sustenance on the charity of their neighbours.

Some of our unemployed tradesmen wished to procure work at the new roads now making. But the people who were employed, agreed, if they were engaged, that they would all abandon their work; so that the overseers were obliged to renounce the idea, at least for some time.

The incautious security of the citizens of Philadelphia, at the first stage of the disorder, is highly to be regretted. Most of those who died of the malignant disorder, before the 26th of August, were carried to burial with the accustomed parade of attendants which so generally prevails in this city. The chief of the persons who at that time carried the dead to the grave, and several of those who attended the funerals, were speedily taken sick, and hurried into eternity.

Sebastian Ale, an old grave digger, who had long lost the sense of smelling, fancied he could not take the disorder, and followed his business without apprehension. A husband and his wife who lay sick together, wished to be interred in the same grave. Their deaths happened within a few days of each other. When the latter of the two was to be buried, Sebastian was employed to dig open the other's grave. He struck upon and broke the coffin, and in stooping down, inhaled such an intolerable and deadly stench, that he was taken sick immediately, and in a day or two died.

The scourge of the yellow fever has fallen with extreme severity on some families. There are various instances of five and six, and some of eight, ten, and of Godfrey Gebler's family no less than eleven were swept off the face of the earth. Dr. Sproat, his wife, son, and daughter—Michael Hay, his wife, and three children—David Flickwir and five of his family—Samuel Weatherby, wife, and four grown children, are no more. And there are numberless instances of a havoc equally great in particular families. There is one house in this city, from which above twenty persons were carried, some to Bushhill, but the most of them to the grave.

There is one fact respecting this disorder, which renders it probable, that the exercise of the duties of humanity towards

the fugitive Philadelphians, would not have been attended with the danger universally imagined. In defiance of all the resolutions entered into by the inhabitants of various towns, many of our infected citizens evaded their vigilance, and took refuge among them, and in very few cases communicated the infection.—Three persons died of this disorder in one house near Woodbury, in New Jersey; they had been attended during their illness, by the family, none of whom caught the disease. Six or seven died in Darby, as many in Germantown, and eight in Haddonfield, without communicating it to any of the inhabitants. A man from Philadelphia, of the name of Cornell, died in New York, about two days after his arrival. The place of his death was a boarding house, in which were several boarders, one of whom slept in the same bed with him. Two of the family only were slightly affected—but not in such a degree as to require medical aid. Several other infected persons from our city, died there, and no one caught the infection from them. A man died at one of the principal taverns in Baltimore, of the same disorder. Many people had visited and attended him during the whole of his illness, without injury. No person was affected but his doctor, whose indisposition was not of long continuance. A great number of similar instances have occurred in Burlington, Bordentown, Lamberton, Princeton, Brunswick, Woodbridge, Newark, Lancaster, and various other places.

Since the first edition appeared, I have had information from a number of creditable persons, that the idea that the disorder has not been communicated out of Philadelphia, is erroneous. A family, of the name of Hopper, near Woodbury, took it from some of our infected citizens, and three of them died. A woman in Chester county, who had boarded and lodged some of the sick, died of the malignant fever. Three people, of one family in Trenton, caught it from a sick person from Philadelphia, and died of it. A negro servant belonging to Mr. Morgan, of Pensaucon Creek, in New Jersey, took up an infected bed floating in the Delaware, which spread the disorder in the family, and Mrs. Morgan and her girl both died of it. It was introduced by his son from Philadelphia, into the family of Mr. Cadwallader, at Abington, some of whom died with it. Some others in different places caught the infection, and died. But the cases of this kind have been extremely few, considering the numbers who carried the disorder from hence, and died with it in the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

Another Collection of Scraps.

THOSE who reflect on the many shocking cases of cruelty and desertion of friends and relations which occurred in Philadelphia, however they may regret, cannot be surprised, that in the country, and in various towns and cities, inhumanity should be experienced by Philadelphians, from strangers. The universal consternation extinguished in people's breasts the most honourable feelings of human nature; and in this case, as in various others, the suspicion operated as injuriously as the reality. Many travellers from this city, exhausted with fatigue and with hunger, have been refused shelter and sustenance, and have fallen victims to the fears, not to the want of charity, of those to whom they applied for relief.* Instances of this kind have occurred on almost every road leading from Philadelphia. People under suspicion of having this disorder, have been forced by their fellow travellers to quit the stages, and it is said, have perished in the woods without a possibility of procuring assistance. It is reported that at Easton, in Maryland, a wagon-load of goods from Philadelphia was actually burned; but for the truth of the report I do not vouch, and presume it cannot be correct.

In a town in Jersey, an association was entered into to prevent all intercourse with Philadelphia, and the inhabitants agreed to mount guard, alternately. One man, who was principled against this severity, refused to do duty, or join in the combination. He was advertised, and all people forbidden to have any communication with him—indeed he was absolutely refused the necessaries of life—a butcher, who passed his door, told him, when applied to for provisions, that he had meat enough, but none for him. Having gone, for a short time, from home, in the direction towards Philadelphia, but not within

* The fugitive Philadelphians were in general as strict in their precautions against those who fled later than they, as any of the country people.

thirty miles of the city, the sentinel on duty stopped him on his return—and he persisting in his determination to proceed, the other presented his firelock, and it is supposed would have shot him, but for the interference of a third person.

The son of a citizen of Philadelphia arrived at a town in Virginia fourteen days before the time of fixing the quarantine, which was for twenty days. However, he was still obliged to undergo the full quarantine after that time, which made thirty-four days, exclusive of above six days spent on the road.

An emigrant from Philadelphia, who had been away nearly three weeks, had to cross a ferry in the neighbouring state, and was provided with proper certificates of the length of time he was absent. He got into the scow, with his wife, and carriage, and was rowed over to the opposite side. There he was refused permission to land, as he had not a certificate from a particular magistrate in that part of the country. He leaped out of the scow, on a rock, and the sentinel swore he would blow his brains out, if he advanced a step farther. His wife, who was in the boat, was under the most dreadful apprehensions, as the ferrymen were drunk, the horses in the carriage fretful, and the wind high. In spite of his intreaties, and his offers to prove the length of his absence, he was obliged to return in quest of the magistrate pointed out. When he arrived at his house, which was several miles from the ferry, the justice concealed himself, through fear of catching the disorder. He then went to another, some miles further back. By the time he returned to the ferry, it was nine o'clock, and he had to wait till next morning.

A poor man was taken sick on the road at a village not far from Philadelphia. He lay calling for water a considerable time in vain. At length, an old woman brought a pitcher full, and not daring to approach him, she laid it at a distance, desiring him to crawl to it, which he did. After lying there about forty-eight hours, he died; and the body lay in a state of putrefaction for some time, until the neighbours hired two black butchers to bury him, for twenty-four dollars. They dug a pit to windward—with a fork, hooked a rope about his neck—dragged him into it—and, at as great a distance as possible, cast earth into the pit to cover him.

In a small town not far distant from Philadelphia, very arbitrary attempts were unfeelingly made to oblige one of our fugi-

tives to mount guard against his own fellow citizens. He refused; and finding him resolute against every effort, they were obliged to desist.

The 17th of September, the western shore Baltimore stage was stopped about two miles from that town, by an armed guard. The hour of arrival was about eight o'clock at night. There was a tavern at pistol shot from the place. But the tavern keeper refused to receive the passengers, twelve in number. They were detained on the road all night without any shelter but the stage, in which they dozed a part of the night; during the remainder of it, they lay before a fire which they had kindled in the woods. Next morning, the tavern keeper, one Murray, an inhuman Goth, when they sent to him for breakfast, refused to give them any. But about two hours afterwards, he let them have some bread, cheese, wine, and cider, with which they breakfasted on the road. In this situation they remained until the afternoon, that is, for eighteen hours. A captain in the French navy, with his wife and several French gentlemen, were among the passengers.

A respectable citizen of Philadelphia left the city with his family Sept. 17th, intending to reside on Long Island till the disorder ceased. He was taken ill on the road—and prevented from proceeding, near Newark. He took lodgings at a captain Littel's, near Second river. The alarm spread of an infected man being in the house—the neighbours assembled—fixed a fence on each side of Littel's house, and obliged the people to remove out of a house near to it, which the fence likewise enclosed. The road and river lay before Littel's door; the former was entirely cut off by the fence, which run clear to the river. At the distance of a hundred yards, was a church, in which public worship was intermitted for some time through fear. Travellers took a circuitous route of nearly a mile, to avoid danger.

At length he died—and his son, about nine years old, had to assist in performing the last melancholy rites for him. The fence remained for ten days after his death, to ascertain whether or not his family had taken the disorder.

Justice requires me to add, that they were not suffered to be in want of any necessaries. They were directed to write what they had occasion for, on a paper, and fasten it on the fence. Persons were appointed to supply them with whatever was requisite.

An artful girl, just from Philadelphia, completely deceived the sentinel stationed near Bordentown. She asked him, with much earnestness, as if afraid to venture in "was *that there* confounded yellow fever got into the town?"—"No," says he, "you may go in with as much safety as to your own home." I need not add, that she went forward.

A Philadelphian, in a small town near this city, lost his child in the fever, and went to bury it. On his return, he found all his furniture on the road, and the doors locked: and no entreaties could again procure him admittance.

When tar was in use among the various preventives, a boy was determined to secure himself by night as well as by day; and accordingly tied a tarred rope twice about his neck, and afterwards buttoned his collar with some difficulty. He woke in the night, half strangled, and black in the face. He may with justice be said to have nearly choked himself, to save his life.

It would be extraordinary if so very favourable an opportunity of inventing marvellous stories, should have been suffered to pass over without some prodigies being recorded. Mankind are ever prone to the extravagant, especially when their passions are warmed. And pity and terror, two passions particularly calculated to foster this disposition, being roused into action to the highest degree, the marvellous stories, which were every where current, and which even stole into print, can be easily accounted for. Some of the Maryland papers relate, that "a voice had been heard in the streets of Philadelphia, warning the inhabitants to prepare for their doom, as written in the prophet Ezekiel, ch. 27." The Marylander who heard this voice, was certainly gifted with a most extraordinary ear, as, at the distance of above a hundred miles, he heard what we could not hear on the spot. And it would appear that his *sight* was equally good with his hearing; for he *saw* two angels conversing with the watch. It is true, he is too modest to say, he saw them himself—he only says "two angels were *seen* conversing with the watch at midnight, about the subject of what the voice had previously proclaimed." But no person here having ever seen them—it is fairly presumable, as it would be highly criminal to doubt of facts resting on such authority, that he must have been the eye-witness himself.

A merchant of Philadelphia, who had been absent for several

weeks, was returning to the city in the second week of November, having heard that the danger was no more. He met a man on the road going from Philadelphia; and naturally inquired into the state of affairs. The other, to indulge the contemptible propensity of hoaxing, told him, that a coffin maker, who had been employed by the committee for relief of the sick, had found such a decrease of demand two weeks before, that he had a large supply of coffins on hand; but that the mortality had again so far increased, that he had sold all, and had seven journeymen employed day and night. This so alarmed the Philadelphian, that he again returned with his family, to wait a more favourable issue.

A drunken sailor lay in the street, in the Northern Liberties, for a few hours asleep, and was supposed by the neighbours to be dead with the disorder; but they were too much afraid to make personal examination. They sent to the committee at the city hall for a cart and a coffin. The carter took the man by the heels, and was going to put him into the coffin. Handling him roughly he awoke, and damning his eyes, asked him what he was about? the carter let him drop in a fright, and ran off as if a ghost was at his heels.

A lunatic, who had the malignant fever, was advised, by his neighbours, to go to Bushhill. He consented, and got into the cart; but soon changing his mind, he slipped out at the end, unknown to the carter, who, after a while, missing him, and seeing him at a distance running away, turned his horse about, and trotted hard after him. The other doubled his pace; and the carter whipped his horse to a gallop; but the man turned a corner, and hid himself in a house, leaving the mortified carter to return, and deliver an account of his ludicrous adventure.

Several instances have occurred of the carters on their arrival at Bushhill, and proceeding to deliver up their charge, finding, to their amazement, the carts empty.

A woman, whose husband died, refused to have him buried in a coffin provided for her by one of her friends, as too paltry and mean. She bought an elegant and costly one—and had the other laid by in the yard. In a week she was herself a corpse—and was buried in the very coffin she had so much despised.

The wife of a man who lived in Walnut street, was seized with the malignant fever, and given over by the doctors. The husband abandoned her, and next night lay out of the house for

fear of catching the infection. In the morning, taking it for granted, from the very low state she had been in, that she was dead, he purchased a coffin for her; but on entering the house, was surprised to see her much recovered. He fell sick shortly after, died, and was buried in the very coffin, which he had so precipitately bought for his wife, who is still living.

The powers of the god of love might be imagined to lie dormant amidst such scenes of distress as Bushhill exhibited. But we find that his sway was felt there with equal force as any where else. John Johnson, and Priscilla Hicks, two of the patients, who had recovered, and officiated as nurses to the sick, were smitten with each other's charms—and, procuring leave of absence for an hour or two, they came to the city on the 23d of September, were joined in the bands of matrimony, and returned to their avocation at the hospital. A long chasm took place in the hymeneal records; for no adventure of the same kind occurred, until the 5th of November, when Nassy, a Portuguese mulatto, took to wife Hannah Smith, a bouncing German girl, who, as well as himself, was employed as nurse.

The state of the police and of society in Philadelphia, appears to no small advantage, when we consider one circumstance. Notwithstanding the absence of the magistrates, and the immense value of property left unprotected through the fears of the owners, and the deaths of the persons left to take care of it, only one or two burglaries were committed.—One was attempted: but the rogues were discovered and taken. A hardened villain from a neighbouring state, formed a plot with some negroes to plunder houses. He was a master rogue, had digested a complete system, and formed a large partnership for the more successful execution of his schemes. However, he was soon seized, and the company dissolved.

The jail of Philadelphia is under such excellent regulation, that the disorder made its appearance there only in two or three instances, although such abodes of misery are places where contagious disorders are very frequently generated. When the yellow fever raged most violently in the city, there were in the jail one hundred and six French soldiers and sailors, confined by order of the French consul; besides eighty convicts, vagrants, and persons for trial; all of whom, except two or three, remained perfectly free from the complaint. Several circumstances conspired to produce this salutary effect. The people confined were frequently cleansed and purified by the use of the

cold bath—they were kept constantly employed—vegetables formed a considerable part of their diet—in the yard, vegetation flourished—and many of them being employed in stone-cutting, the water, constantly running, kept the atmosphere in a moist state, while the people of Philadelphia were almost uninterruptedly parched up by unceasing heat. Elijah Weed, the late jailor, caught the disorder in the city, and died in the jail, without communicating it to any of the people confined. I hope I shall be excused for paying a tribute to the memory of this valuable citizen, under whose government of the jail, and with whose hearty co-operation, most of the regulations in that institution have been effected, which, with the successful experiments made in England, prove that jails may be easily converted from sinks of human depravity and wretchedness, into places of reformation; so that, instead of rendering the idle vagrant, confined merely on suspicion, or for want of friends to protect him, obdurate, wicked, and ripe for rapine and spoil,—the profligate and abandoned may be so reclaimed in them, as, on their liberation, to become useful members of society. For the honour of human nature, it ought to be recorded, that some of the convicts in the jail, a part of the term of whose confinement had been remitted, as a reward for their peaceable, orderly behaviour, voluntarily offered themselves as nurses, to attend the sick at Bushhill, and have in that capacity conducted themselves with great fidelity. Among them are some who were formerly regarded, and with justice, as hardened, abandoned villains, which the old system usually rendered every tenant of a jail, who remained there a few weeks. According to the same summary system, these men's lives would have been long since offered up as an atonement to society for the injury they had done it. That is, in plain English, because society had suffered one injury by rapine, it was necessary it should suffer another by law. But by the present improved and humane plan, they and great numbers of others are restored to society and usefulness once more. So much better, although a little more troublesome, is it, to reform men, than to butcher them under colour of law and justice.

The sympathy for our calamities, displayed in various places, and the very liberal contributions raised for our relief, reflect the highest honour on their inhabitants, and demand our warmest gratitude. The inhabitants of Gloucester county, in New Jersey, have the honour of being first in this laudable race. So

early as the 30th of September, they had a considerable sum collected, with which they purchased a quantity of provisions for the use of the hospital at Bushhill. They have, from that time, regularly continued copious supplies twice a week. In addition to this they have made, and are now making, considerable purchases of wood, for the relief of the poor during the winter. From a few citizens of Philadelphia, near Germantown, there have been received two thousand dollars; from others near Darby, fourteen hundred; from New York, five thousand; from a person unknown, five hundred; from Bucks' county, sixteen hundred; from Delaware county, twelve hundred; from Franklin county, nearly five hundred; from Boston, sundry articles, which have been sold for nearly two thousand; and from sundry other persons and places, contributions equally liberal and honourable.

There has been a very strong analogy between the state of Philadelphia, and that of an army. About the close of August, and till the middle of September, when the dangers were few, and, by prudent management, might have been easily surmounted, an universal trepidation benumbed people's faculties; and flight and self-preservation seemed to engross the whole attention of a large proportion of the citizens. Just so, with an army of recruits. Every breath of wind terrifies them. Vague rumours are heard with fear and trembling. In every tree at a distance is beheld a formidable enemy, to whom they are ready to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. But when the "din of arms, and cannon's rattle" have familiarized them with the horrid trade of death, the obstinate phalanx beholds, unmoved, its ranks mowed down, and death advancing, with rapid strides, to terminate their (as it is falsely termed) *glorious* career.—Even thus was it here. Towards the close of September, and during the first part of October, when the horrors of the scene were constantly increasing, and from fifty to a hundred were interred daily, then people cast away their various preventives—thieves' vinegar, tarred ropes, garlic, camphor bags, smelling bottles, &c.—And then it was, that they assumed a manly fortitude, tempered with the sober, serious pensiveness, befitting such an awful scene.

A friend, to whom I communicated this idea, has endeavoured to explain the matter differently. He says, that those who were terrified at first, generally fled away—and left behind such as were possessed of a stronger frame of mind. This is

an error; as many men, who were among the most striking instances of the influence of terror at first, behaved, in the end, with the most exemplary fortitude.

Shall I be pardoned for passing a censure on those, whose mistaken zeal led them, during the most dreadful stages of the calamity, to crowd some of our churches, and aid this frightful enemy in his work of destruction? who, fearful, lest their prayers and adoration at home would not find acceptance before the Deity, resorted to churches filled with bodies of contagious air, where, with every breath, they inhaled noxious miasmata? To this cause may probably be ascribed a considerable proportion of the mortality—And it is remarkable, that those congregations, whose places of worship were most crowded, have suffered the most dreadfully. Will men never acquire wisdom? Are we yet to learn, that the Almighty architect of the heavens and earth, does not require "temples made with men's hands?" that going to a place of worship, against the great law of self-preservation, implanted in indelible characters by his divine hand, on the breast of every one of his creatures, constitutes no part of the adoration due to the maker and preserver of mankind? That a "meek and humble heart" is the temple wherein he delights to be worshipped? I hope not—I hope the awful lesson some of our congregations hold forth on this subject, by a mortality out of all proportion to their numbers, will serve as a memento at all future times, in the like critical emergencies!"*

Some of those who remained in the city have absurdly been in the habit of reproaching those who fled, with criminality as deserters, who abandoned their posts.† I believe, on the contra-

* This paragraph, although erroneous, is retained, that I may have an opportunity, which I cheerfully embrace, of acknowledging the mistake I have committed. On a revision of the bills of mortality, it appears, that those congregations who kept up religious worship regularly, did not lose more than, and some not so many as, their usual proportions. In one year, ending July 31, 1793, the German Lutherans buried more than a sixth of the whole number of the dead in the city—the German Reformed, a fifteenth—the Friends, a tenth—and St. Mary's, an eighth. From August 1, to November 9, 1793, the burials among the German Lutherans were not quite a sixth—among the German Reformed, nearly a sixteenth—among the Friends, an eleventh—and in St. Mary's grave yard, a sixteenth. These were the congregations I alluded to, in the above remarks.

† If they were even guilty of a crime, it brought its own punishment; as I am fully convinced, that those who were absent, and a prey to the anxiety caused by the frightful reports current, suffered as much as those who remained in the city.

ry, that as the nature of our government did not allow the arbitrary measures to be pursued, which, in despotic countries, would probably have extinguished the disorder at an early period—it was the duty of every person to avoid the danger, whose circumstances and situation allowed it. The effects of the desertion were, moreover, salutary. The sphere of action of the disorder was diminished. Half a dozen empty houses arrested the disease in its progress, as it was slowly, but surely travelling through a street, and probably rescued a neighbourhood from its ravages. We shall long have to mourn the severe loss our city has felt, in being bereft of so many valuable citizens: and had the 17,000, who retired, been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder, and lost as large a proportion of their number, as those did who remained, we should, instead of 4000 dead, have probably lost 6000; and perhaps had to deplore in the number, another Clow, a Cay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt—a Pennington, a Glentworth, a Hutchinson, a Sergeant, a Howell, a Waring, men endowed by heaven with eminent abilities—a Fleming, a Graessl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue—a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carroll, a Tomkins, an Offley, citizens of most estimable characters.

Let those then who have remained, regard their long-absent friends, as if preserved from death by their flight, and rejoice at their return in health and safety. Let those who have been absent, acknowledge the exertions of those who maintained their ground. Let us all unite in the utmost vigilance to prevent the return of this fell destroyer, by the most scrupulous attention to cleansing and purifying our scourged city—and let us join in thanksgiving to that Supreme Being, who has, in his own time, stayed the avenging storm, ready to devour us, after it had laughed to scorn all human efforts.

List of the Burials in the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, as taken from the Books kept by Clergymen, Sextons, &c., from August 1st to November 9th, 1793.

DAYS.	BURIALS.				TOTALS.
	August.	September.	October.	November.	
1	9	17	74	13	113
2	8	18	67	21	114
3	9	11	78	15	113
4	10	23	58	15	106
5	10	20	71	14	115
6	3	24	76	11	114
7	12	18	82	15	127
8	5	42	90	8	145
9	11	32	102	6	151
10	6	29	93		128
11	7	23	119		149
12	5	33	111		149
13	11	37	104		152
14	4	48	81		133
15	9	56	80		145
16	7	67	70		144
17	6	81	80		167
18	5	68	59		132
19	9	61	65		135
20	7	67	55		129
21	8	57	59		124
22	13	76	82		171
23	10	68	54		132
24	17	96	38		151
25	12	67	35		134
26	17	52	23		92
27	12	60	13		85
28	22	51	25		98
29	24	57	17		98
30	20	63	10		93
31	17		22		39
	325	1442	1993	118	3878
Jews returned in gross					3
Baptists do.					60
Methodists do.					32
Free Quakers do.					38
German part of St. Mary's congregation					30
				Total	4041*

* From the great confusion that prevailed among the Sextons during the prevalence of the fever, the above lists were regarded as very irregular, and far short of the real number of interments, which were considered to be at least 5000.—*April* 16, 1830.

Protestant Episcopalians.—Christ Church		173
	St. Peter's	109
	St. Paul's	70
Presbyterians.—First		73
Second		128
Third		107
Associate		12
Reformed		33
Roman Catholics.—St. Mary's		251
German part of do.		30
Trinity		54
Friends		373
Free Quakers		39
German.—Lutherans		641
Calvinists		261
Moravians		13
Swedes		75
Baptists.—Returned in gross		60
Methodists. Do.		32
Universalists		2
Jews.—Returned in gross		2
Kensington		169
Potter's field, including the new ground		1334
		4041

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

MADE IN PHILADELPHIA,

BY DAVID RITTENHOUSE, ESQ.

August, 1793.

	Barometer.		Thermometer.		Wind.		Weather.	
	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.
1	29 95	30 0	65	77	WNW	NW	cloudy	fair
2	30 1	30 1	63	81	NW	SW	fair	fair
3	30 5	29 96	62	82	N	NNE	fair	fair
4	29 97	30 0	65	87	S	SW	fair	fair
5	30 5	30 1	73	90	SSW	SW	fair	fair
6	30 2	30 0	77	87	SW	W	cloudy	fair
7	30 12	30 1	68	83	NW	W	fair	fair
8	30 1	29 96	69	86	SSE	SSE	fair	rain
9	29 8	29 75	75	85	SSW	SW	cloudy	fair
10	29 9	29 9	67	82	W	SW	fair	fair
11	30 0	30 0	70	84	SW	WSW	cloudy	cloudy
12	30 0	30 0	70	87	W	W	fair	fair
13	30 5	30 0	71	89	SW	W	fair	fair
14	30 0	29 95	75	82	SW	SW	fair	rain
15	30 0	30 1	72	75	NNE	NE	rain	cloudy
16	30 1	30 1	70	83	NNE	NE	fair	fair
17	30 1	30 0	71	86	SW	SW	fair	fair
18	30 1	30 0	73	89	calm	SW	fair	fair
19	30 1	30 1	72	82	N	N	fair	cloudy
20	30 1	30 12	69	82	NNE	NNE	fair	fair
21	30 15	30 25	62	83	N	NNE	fair	fair
22	30 3	30 35	63	86	NE	SE	fair	fair
23	30 25	30 15	63	85	calm	S	fair	fair
24	30 1	30 1	73	81	calm	calm	cloudy	rain
25	30 1	30 1	71	66	NE	NE	rain	great rain
26	30 15	30 2	59	69	NE	NE	cloudy	cloudy
27	30 2	30 2	65	73	NE	NE	cloudy	cloudy
28	30 2	30 15	67	80	S	calm	cloudy	clearing
29	30 16	30 15	72	86	calm	SW	cloudy	fair
30	30 1	30 1	74	87	calm	SW	fair	fair
31	30 0	30 0	74	84	SW	NW	rain	fair

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

September, 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	6 A. M.		3 P. M.		6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.	6 A. M.	3 P. M.
1	30	0	29	30	71	86	calm	SW	fog	fair
2	29	75	29	8	73	86	SW	SW	fair	fair
3	30	0			60		NW	N	fair	fair
4	30	15	30	15	55	75	W	W	fair	fair
5	30	15	30	1	62	80	SE	S	fair	cloudy
6	29	97	29	95	70	89	WSW	W	fair	cloudy
7	30	0	30	0	65	77	WNW	NW	fair	fair
8	30	1	30	1	64	70	calm	calm	cloudy	cloudy
9	30	0	30	0	66	80	SE	NW	rain	fair
10	30	0	30	0	64	72	N	NNE	fair	cloudy
11	30	1	30	0	62	72	NE	N	cloudy	fair
12	29	96	29	9	58	76	W	NNW	fair	fair
13	29	95	30	0	57	72	W	N	fair	fair
14	30	0	30	5	58	79	NW	NW	fair	fair
15	30	0	29	97	65	80	N	S	fair	fair
16	29	9	29		70	84	S	SW	cloudy	fair
17	29	8	29	85	66	67	N	N	cloudy	cloudy
18	30	3			44		N		fair	
19	30	4	30	35	45	70	calm	SW	fair	fair
20	30	3	30	15	54	69	calm	SE	hazy	hazy
21	30	0	29	0	59	78	calm		cloudy	fair
22	30	0	30	0	63	83	calm		cloudy	fair
23	30	1	30	1	62	81	calm	SE	cloudy	cloudy
24	30	2	30	2	65	70	NE	ENE	cloudy	fair
25	30	15	30	0	61	68	NE	NE	cloudy	cloudy
26	29	8	29	7	58	79	N	N	cloudy	fair
27	29	7			64		NW	NW	cloudy	fair
28	30	5	30	15	54	73	NW	NW	fair	fair
29	30	3	30	3	56	74	NE	ENE	cloudy	fair
30	30	35	30	3	57	75	calm	SW	foggy	fair

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

October, 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.		2 P. M.		7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30	15	30	5	64	80	SW	SW	cloudy	fair
2	29	9	30	5	70	72	W	NNW	cloudy	fair
3	30	2	30	15	50	72	W	SW	fair	fair
4	29	75	29	7	59	72	SW	W	cloudy	cloudy
5	30	0	30	1	58	66	N	N	fair	fair
6	30	3	30	3	43	66	NE	W	fair	fair
7	30	45			46		calm		fair	
8	30	6	30	6	53	68	N	N	fair	fair
9	30	5	30	4	53	70	NW	NW	fair	fair
10	30	2	30	2	49	74	E	NW	fair	fair
11	30	0	29	85	51	74	W	W	fair	fair
12	26	6	29	55	58	64	SW	NW	rain	rain
13	29	85	29	9	49	69	NW	NW	fair	fair
14	30	5	30	0	52	76	SW	SW	calm	fair
15	29	75	29	8	56	54	SW	N	fair	rain
16	30	0	30	0	37	53	NNW	N	fair	fair
17	30	1	30	1	37	60	NE	NE	fair	fair
18	30	1	30	1	41	62	NW	NW	fair	fair
19	30	0	29	9	51	66	N	N	cloudy	fair
20	30	0	30	0	44	54	NW	N	fair	fair
21	30	0	30	2	49	59	N	NW	fair	fair
22	29	6	29	5	51	65	NW	NW	fair	fair
23	29	8	29	8	47	60	W	W	fair	fair
24	30	3	30	4	36	59	W	NW	fair	fair
25	30	4	30	3	46	71	S	S	cloudy	fair, high w.
26	30	2	30	2	60	72	calm	SW	cloudy	cloudy
27	30	3	30	3	44	44	NNE	NNE	cloudy	cloudy
28	30	2	30	1	34	37	N	N	cloudy	cloudy
29	29	85	29	85	28	44	NNW	NW	fair	fair
30	30	1	30	1	28	49	calm	SW	hazy	hazy
31	30	15	30	2	42	45	calm	NNE	cloudy	rain

November, 1793.

	Barometer.				Thermometer.		Winds.		Weather.	
	7 A. M.		2 P. M.		7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.	7 A. M.	2 P. M.
1	30	1	30	1	40	41	NNE	NE	rain	cloudy
2	30	3	30	25	32	49	NNE	NE	fair	fair
3	30	1	30	0	43	56	calm	SW	cloudy	cloudy
4	29	8	29	9	55	67	SW	SW	cloudy	fair
5	30	15	30	1	50	64	NE	NE	rain	rain
6	29	8	29	65	63	67	S	S	cloudy	cloudy
7	29	8	29	8	44	64	calm	SW	fair	fair
8	29	8	29	85	43	56	SSW	SW	fair	fair
9	29	9	29	95	42	64	SW	SW	fair	fair

Review of the Evidence of the pretended General Conspiracy of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to massacre "all the Protestants that would not join with them," on the 23d of October, 1641.*

THE tale of this conspiracy has been so universally credited; so large a portion of the possessors of confiscated property in Ireland have been for nearly one hundred and ninety years interested in affording it support and countenance; so much art and talent have been, during that time, employed in giving it an air of plausibility; there is so much difficulty in proving a negative in any case, more particularly in the present one, which is naturally, and has been moreover artfully, involved in mystery; and it is so extremely arduous an undertaking to operate upon the public mind, when imbued with inveterate prejudices, that the task is truly Herculean, and I should have abandoned it as impracticable, but that the narrative itself is replete with so many incredible and incongruous circumstances, as to carry strong internal evidence of fraud.

In order to give the story fair play, and to enable the reader to form a correct opinion on the subject, with all the evidence before him, I shall give the whole account of the discovery of the plot, as it stands in Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion, the authority almost solely relied on by all the subsequent writers on the subject. Some slight extracts are added from Borlace, containing a few additional particulars.

To simplify the examination, the narrative is divided into short sentences, each containing perfect sense, to oblige the reader to pause and reflect, as he proceeds.

The discussion of this question being one of considerable historical importance, the reader's calm and candid consideration of it, is earnestly invoked. It is hoped that, laying aside all preconceived opinions on the subject, he will revolve it in his mind, as if it were wholly new, and he had now, for the first time in his life, to form a decision on it.

* Extracted from the Vindiciæ Hibernicæ.

There are unfortunately, too many to whom a compliance with this request is impossible: and indeed a large proportion of mankind can never command independence of mind enough even to examine evidence that militates with their early, and, of course, inveterate, prejudices; far less ever to abandon those prejudices. There are, therefore, thousands who would as soon doubt any of the demonstrations of Euclid, or the existence of the solar system, as the existence of the universality of the plot of "*the execrable rebellion of* 1641."

To this contracted class I do not address myself: with them I have no fellowship: "Even though one were to rise from the dead," his testimony would not convince them. Let them hug the chains of their bigoted prejudices. The appeal is to that respectable description of readers, whose minds, open to conviction, are at all times ready to yield to the force of evidence, how strongly soever it may militate against opinions which have "grown with their growth." The favourable decision of one such reader, with a clear head and sound heart, would outweigh the disapprobation of a whole army of the slaves of prejudice.

*Extracts of Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion.**

1. "Sir William Cole, upon the very first apprehensions of something that he conceived to be hatching among the Irish, did write a letter to the lords justices and council, dated the 11th of October, 1641.

2. "Wherein he gave them notice of the great resort made to sir Phelim O'Neal, in the county of Tyrone, *as also to the house of the lord Macguire*, in the county of Fermanagh, and that by several suspected persons, fit instruments for mischief;

3. "As also that *the said lord Macguire had of late made several journies into the Pale and other places, and had spent his time much in writing letters and sending despatches abroad.*

4. "*These letters were received* by the lords justices and council;

5. "And they, in answer to them, required him to be very vigilant and industrious to find out what should be the occasion of those several meetings, and speedily to advertise them thereof, or

* The reader will please to observe, that these extracts are taken *verbatim* from the original work; and, unless where otherwise distinctly marked by a dash, thus ——, form an unbroken consecutive series.

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of any other particular that he conceived might tend to the public service of the state."[1]

6. "They [the lords justices] had not any certain notice of the general conspiracy of the Irish, until the 22d of October, in the very evening before the day appointed for the surprise of the castle and city of Dublin.

7. "The conspirators being, many of them, arrived within the city, and having that day met at the Lion tavern, in Copper alley, and there turning the drawer out of the room, ordered their affairs together, drunk healths upon their knees to the happy success of the next morning's work.

8. "Owen O'Conally, *a gentleman of a mere Irish family*, but one that had long lived among the English, and been trained up in the true Protestant religion, came unto the lord justice Parsons, ABOUT NINE O'CLOCK THAT EVENING!!

9. "And made him a broken relation of a great conspiracy for the seizing upon his majesty's castle of Dublin.

10. "*He gave him the names of some of the chief conspirators!* assured him that they were come up expressly to the town for the same purpose; and that next morning they would undoubtedly attempt, and surely effect it, if their design were not speedily prevented;

11. "And that he had understood all this from Hugh Mac-Mahon, one of the chief conspirators, who was then in the town, and came up *but the very same afternoon*, for the execution of the plot;

12. "And with whom indeed *he had been drinking somewhat liberally;* and as the truth is, did then make such a broken relation of a matter that *seemed so incredible in itself*, as that his lordship *gave very little belief to it at first!!!*

13. "In regard *it came from an obscure person*, and one, as he conceived, somewhat distempered at that time.

14. "But howsoever, the lord Parsons gave him order *to go again to Mac-Mahon!!! and get out of him as much certainty of the plot!!!* with as many particular circumstances, as he could!!! straitly charging him to return back unto him the same evening!!!

15. "And in the meantime, having by strict commands given to the constable of the castle, taken order *to have the gates thereof*

[1] Temple's History, Dublin edition, 1724, page 18.

well guarded, as also with the mayor and sheriffs of the city to have strong watches set upon all the parts of the same, and to make stay of all strangers,

16. "He went *privately!!* about ten of the clock that night, to the lord Borlace's house *without the town*, and there acquainted him with what he understood from O'Conally.*

17. "They sent for such of the council as they knew then to be *in the town*,†

18. "But there came only unto them that night sir Thomas Rotheram and Sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer: with these *they fell into consultation what was fit to be done!!!* attending the return of O'Conally.

19. "And finding that he staid somewhat longer than the time prefixed, they sent out in search after him;

20. "And found him seized on by the watch, and so he had been carried away to prison, and the discovery that night disappointed,

21. "Had not one of the lord Parsons' servants, expressly sent, amongst others, *to walk the streets, and attend the motion of the said O'Conally*, come in, and rescued him, and brought him to the lord Borlace's house.

* Although I shall in the sequel analyse this precious narrative at length, I cannot refrain from calling the reader's attention to these two paragraphs, 16 and 17, as they alone would be sufficient with impartial men, to discredit the whole plot. Sir William Parsons, being *in the city* of Dublin at nine o'clock at night, is informed of a plot to explode in thirteen hours.—Instead of at once seizing the conspirators, he sends a drunken man, whose absence must have excited suspicion, to make further discoveries—and at ten o'clock, he goes "*privately*" to Lord Borlace's house "*out of town*"—and then sends for such of the council as he knew to be then "*in town*." Was there ever a more Munchausen tale? It is hardly calculated to impose on an idiot. How far out of town sir John's house was, cannot be ascertained—suppose only a mile. Then he walked a mile—the messenger another—and such of the council as were found, had to walk a third mile, and for what? To be so far removed from the scene of action, and from the means of applying a remedy to the impending evils, as to give every opportunity to the conspirators to insure their success! Here was a most pernicious delay, when every moment was invaluable!! Had there been any reality in the plot, sir William would have remained "*in town*"—collected all of the council there at the time—sent a messenger "*out of town*" for sir John Borlace—and then collected the whole body at their posts, where they ought to be on such an emergency.

† Here is the dodging "*into town*," and "*out of town*."

22. "O'Conally having somewhat recovered himself from his distemper, occasioned partly, as he said himself, by the horror of the plot revealed to him, partly by his too liberal drinking with Mac-Mahon, that he might the more easily get away from him, (he beginning much to suspect and fear his discovery of the plot,)

23. "Confirmed what he had formerly related, and added these further particulars set down in his examination, as followeth.[2]

The Examination of Owen O'Conally, gentleman, taken before us, whose names ensue, October 22, 1641.

"Who being duly sworn and examined, saith:

24. "That he being at *Monimore*, in the county of Londonderry, on *Tuesday last!* he received a letter from colonel Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, desiring him to come to Conaught, in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on *Wednesday* or *Thursday* last!

25. "Whereupon he, this examinate, came to Conaught on Wednesday night last;

26. "And finding the said Hugh come to Dublin, followed him hither;

27. "He came hither about *six of the clock this evening!*

28. "And forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hugh, to the house near the Boat, in Oxmantown;

29. "And there he found the said Hugh, and came with the said Hugh *into the town*, near the Pillory, to the lodging of the lord Macguire;

30. "Where they found not the lord within; and there they drank a cup of beer;

31. "And *then went back again* to the said Hugh his lodging;

32. "He saith, that at the lord Macguire his lodging, the said Hugh told him that there were and would be this night great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen, of the Irish Papists, from all the parts of the kingdom, in this town;

33. "Who with himself had determined to take the castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his majesty's ammunition there, *to-morrow morning*, being Saturday;

34. "And that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said town: and if the city would not yield, then to batter down the houses! And so *to cut off all the Protestants* that would not join with them!

[2] Temple, 18.

35. "He further saith, that the said Hugh then told him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom, *to destroy all the English inhabiting there, to-morrow morning by ten of the clock!!*

36. "And that in all the sea-ports, and other towns in the kingdom, *all the Protestants should be killed this night!!* and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it;

37. "And further saith, that he moved the said Hugh to forbear executing of that business, and to discover it to the state, for the saving of his own estate;

38. "Who said he could not help it; but said, that they did owe their allegiance to the king, and would pay him all his rights; but that they did this for the tyrannical government was over them, and to imitate Scotland, who got a privilege by that course;

39. "And he further saith, that when he was with the said Hugh, in his lodging the second time, the said Hugh swore, that he should not go out of his lodging that night; but told him that he should go with him the next morning to the castle; and said, if this matter were discovered, somebody should die for it;

40. "Whereupon this examinate feigned some necessity for his easement; went down out of the chamber; and left his sword in pawn: and the said Hugh sent his man down with him; and when this examinate came down into the yard, and finding an opportunity, he, this examinate, *leapt over a wall and two pales!!!* and so came to the lord justice Parsons.

"*October* 22, 1641.

WILLIAM PARSONS,
THOMAS ROTHERAM,
ROBERT MEREDITH,
OWEN O'CONALLY.[3]

41. "How it came to pass that *the other lord justice attested not the examination, (it being took in his house, he present,)* hath begot some doubts, evidencing how (since) counsels swerved into cabals."[4]

42. "*Hereupon the lords took present order to have a watch privately set upon the lodging of Mac-Mahon, as also upon the lord Macguire!!!!!*"*

* The lords justices have information of a plot to explode in a few hours, whereby they are to be murdered, and as a precautionary measure, "*set a watch privately upon the lodgings*" *of the chief conspirators!!*

[3] Temple, 20. [4] Borlace's History of the Irish Rebellion, page 21.

43. "And so they sate up all that night in *consultation!!!* having far stronger *presumptions* upon this latter examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain.

44. "The lords justices, upon a further consideration, there being come unto them, *early next morning!* several others of the privy council, *sent before day and seized upon Mac-Mahon, then with his servant in his own lodging.*

45. "They at first made some little resistance with their drawn swords; but finding themselves overmastered, presently yielded.

46. "And so they were brought before the lords justices and council, still sitting at the lord Borlace's house.*

47. "Where upon examination, he did without much difficulty confess the plot, resolutely telling them, that *on that very day, all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken!!*

48. "That he, with the lord Macguire, Hugh Birn, captain Brian O'Neil, and several other Irish gentlemen, were come up expressly to surprise the castle of Dublin.

49. "That "*twenty men out of each county in the kingdom!!!* were to be here to join with them.†.

50. "That *all the lords and gentlemen in the kingdom, that were papists, were engaged in this plot!!!*

51. "That what was *that day to be done in other parts of the country*, was so far advanced by that time, as it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it!

52. "And withal told them, that it was true they had him in their power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged."[5]

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53. Extract from "The lords chief justices' letter to the lord

* It appears, therefore, that the council was sitting all night "*at lord Borlace's house*," "*out of town*," so as to leave the conspirators free scope to carry their projects into execution "*in town*." Was ever an imposture so absurdly concocted?

† There are thirty two counties in Ireland, some of them *one hundred and fifty miles from Dublin—and twenty men were to be marched from each county*, to execute a plot requiring the utmost secrecy!! An admirable scheme!

[5] Temple, 21.

lieutenant, October 25th, 1641, sent by Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer.*

"May it please your lordship,

54. "On Friday, the 22d of this month, *after nine o'clock at night*, this bearer, Owen O'Conally, SERVANT TO SIR JOHN CLOTWORTHY, KNIGHT, came to me, the lord justice Parsons, to my house,

55. "And in great secresie, (as indeed the cause did require,) discovered unto me a most wicked and damnable conspiracy, plotted, contrived, and intended to be also acted by some evil-affected Irish Papists here.

56. "The plot was on the then next morning, Saturday, the 23d of October, being St. Ignatius's day, *about nine of the clock!* to surprise his majesty's castle of Dublin, his majesty's chief strength of this kingdom; wherein also is the principal magazine of his majesty's arms and munition.

57. "And it was agreed, it seems among them, that at the same hour, *all other his majesty's forts and magazines of arms and munition in this kingdom!!* should be surprised by others of those conspirators:

58. "And further, *that all the Protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom*, that would not join with them, should be cut off!! and so those Papists should then become possessed of the government and kingdom at the same instant.

59. "As soon as I had that intelligence, I then immediately repaired to the lord justice Borlace; and thereupon *we instantly assembled the council.*

60. "And *having sate all that night!!* as also all the next day, the 23d of October, in regard of the short time left us for the consultation of so great and weighty a matter, although it was not possible for us, upon so few hours' warning, to prevent those other great mischiefs which were to be acted, even at that same hour and at so great a distance, in all the other parts of the kingdom;†

* Thus it appears that the lords justices did not think it necessary to write to the lord lieutenant then in London, till Monday, the 25th, respecting a conspiracy for the destruction of "all the Protestants in Ireland that would not join it," which was to have exploded on the 23d!!!

† "Which were to be acted, even at the same hour, in all other parts of the kingdom"—but which were not acted, nor attempted.

61. "Yet such was our industry therein, *having caused the castle to be that night strengthened with armed men*, and the city guarded, as the wicked councils of those evil persons, by the great mercy of God to us, became defeated, so as they were not able to act that part of their treachery, which indeed was principal.

62. "And which, if they could have effected, would have rendered the rest of their purposes the more easy.

63. "Having so secured the castle, we forthwith laid about for the apprehension of as many of the offenders as we could, many of them having come to this city but that night, intending, it seems, the next morning, to act their parts in those treacherous and bloody crimes.

64. "The first man apprehended was one Hugh Mac-Mahon, Esq. (grandson to the traitor Tyrone,) a gentleman of good fortune in the county of Monaghan, who, with others, *was taken that morning* in Dublin, having, at the time of their apprehension, offered a little resistance with their swords drawn; but finding those we employed against them more in number, and better armed, yielded.

65. "He, upon examination before us, at first denied all; but in the end, when he saw we laid it home to him, he confessed enough to destroy himself, and impeach some others, as by a copy of his examination herewith sent, may appear to your lordship.

66. "We then committed him until we might have further time to examine him again, our time being become more needful to be employed in action for securing this place, than examining. This Mac-Mahon had been abroad, and served the king of Spain, as a lieutenant colonel.

67. "Upon conference with him and others!!! *and calling to mind a letter we received the week before* from sir William Cole!!! a copy whereof we send your lordship here inclosed, we gathered, that *the lord Macguire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin!!!!!*[*]

68. "Wherefore we held it necessary to secure him immediately, thereby also to startle and deter the rest, when they found him laid fast."[6]

[*] After having set a guard on his house the preceding night, they required all this variety of information, to "*gather that the lord Macguire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin!*"

[6] Temple, 27.

Extracts from Borlace's "History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion."

69. "In the interim, the lord Parsons, (being touched with the relation,) repaired, about *ten of the clock at night*, to the lord Borlace, at Chichester house, *without the town;*

70. "And disclosed to him what O'Conally had imparted; which made so sensible an impression on his colleague, as (the discoverer being let go,) he grew infinitely concerned thereat, having none to punish, if the story should prove false, or means to learn more, were it true.

71. "In the disturbance of which perplexity, Owen O'Conally comes, (or, as others write, was brought,) where the lords justices were then met; sensible that his discovery was not thoroughly believed, professing that whatever he had acquainted the lord Parsons with, (touching the conspiracy,) was true:

72. "And could he but repose himself, (*the effects of drink being still upon him,*) he should discover more.

73. "Whereupon *he had the conveniency of a bed.*"[7]

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74. "In the interim, the lords justices summoned as many of the council as they could give notice to, to their assistance that night *at Chichester house.**

75. "Sir Thomas Rotheram, and sir Robert Meredith, chancellor of the exchequer, came immediately to them.

76. "They then with all diligence secured the gates of the city,† with such as they could most confide in, and strengthened the warders of the castle, (which were a few inconsiderable men,) with their foot-guard,‡ usually attending their persons, *charging the mayor and his brethren to be watchful of all persons that should walk the streets that night!!!*[8]

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77. "Hugh Oge Mac-Mahon, Esq. grandson by his mother to

* *Without the town.* See ¶ 69.

† "They secured the gates of the city."] That is to say, the conspirators were "*in the town*"—and they "*out of town*"—they therefore must have shut themselves out!

‡ "The footguard."] Thus the safety of the city was confided, at a time of such imminent danger, to "*the warders*," "a few *inconsiderable men*," and "the footguard" of the lords justices, "*usually attending their persons*," which cannot be presumed to have been more than ten or a dozen at most!

[7] Borlace, 20. [8] Ibid.

the traitor Tir-Owen, a gentleman of good fortune in the county of Monaghan, who had served as a lieutenant-colonel in the king of Spain's quarters, was, after some little resistance, apprehended *before day in his own lodgings*, over the water, near the Inns, and brought *to Chichester house.**

78. "Where, upon examination, he did, without much difficulty, confess the plot, resolutely telling them, That ON THAT VERY DAY, *(it was now about five in the morning, the 23d of Oct. 1641!!!)* that all the forts and strong places in Ireland would be taken," &c. &c.[9]

79. "Before Mac-Mahon was apprehended, O'Conally having *on his repose* recovered himself, had his examination taken, in these words:[10] [as before, page 102.]

Analysis of the foregoing legend.

I. A Roman Catholic colonel is engaged in a plot, the object of which is "*to massacre all the Protestants in the kingdom*," "except those who would join" in murdering their brethren.

II. This colonel, in want of a confederate, sends about forty-five miles to O'Conally, *a Protestant*, to reveal to him this project.

III. O'Conally, who, in order to attach importance to his testimony, in some of the statements is styled "*a gentleman*," is, in fact and in truth, merely *a servant* to sir John Clotworthy, *one of the most envenomed enemies of the Roman Catholics*, and, of course, a very suitable person to be entrusted with such a secret, and very worthy to be sent for to a place distant forty-five miles.

IV. O'Conally receives a letter on *Tuesday*, the 19th of October, at what hour is not known,—say nine o'clock; and, *wholly ignorant of the nature of the affair* which leads to the invitation, makes all his preparations at once, and commences his journey, we will suppose, about noon the same day.

V. He arrives, *on Wednesday night*, the 20th, at Conaught, after a journey of about forty-five miles: and be it observed, *en passant*, that a journey of forty-five miles, at that period, was nearly as ar-

* *Without the town.* See ¶ 69.

[9] Borlace, 20. [10] Ibid.

duous an undertaking, and required almost as much preparation, as a journey of one hundred and fifty at present.

VI. Colonel Mac-Mahon, whose invitation had given O'Conally the option of coming on Wednesday OR *Thursday*, so far broke his engagement, that he had started, *on Wednesday*, for Dublin, previous to O'Conally's arrival, which took place on the night of that day.

VII. O'Conally, nothing discouraged by the breach of engagement on the part of the colonel, follows him to Dublin.

VIII. He arrives in that city on the memorable Friday, the 22d of October, "about six o'clock in the evening" ONE HOUR AFTER SUNSET.

IX. Conaught, in Monaghan, is not to be found on any map. I will therefore suppose it to have been in the centre of the county.

X. Monimore, by Pinkerton's map, is about forty miles in a direct line from the centre of the County of Monaghan—and this centre is about sixty miles also in a direct line from Dublin. The whole distance must by the usual circuitous windings of the road, have been *at the very least one hundred and ten miles.*

XI. The climate of Ireland is very moist. Rains are generally abundant, particularly in autumn. Of course, *the roads at that season were very probably miry, and difficult to travel.*

XII. It thus appears, that O'Conally has performed a journey of about forty-five miles in a day and a half; that is from mid-day on Tuesday, to Wednesday night: and a hundred and ten in three days and a half, at a season of the year, when THE SUN ROSE ABOUT SEVEN, AND SET ABOUT FIVE!! and this exploit was accomplished at a time when there were no diligences, post-coaches, post-chaises, or steamboats, to insure expedition; and when, moreover, the roads were in all probability in very bad order.

XIII. Nothing discouraged by the fatigue of his journey of a hundred and ten miles, nor by his previous disappointment, nor by the darkness of the evening, he commences a search for the lodgings of an entire stranger who had arrived that evening! Wonderful to tell, and impossible to be believed, he is said to have succeeded, and to have found out the stranger's lodgings! And let it not be forgotten, that on this night, *the*

*the moon was invisible,** a circumstance admirably calculated to aid his researches!

XIV. Although the colonel was engaged in a plot to explode *next day at ten o'clock A. M.* O'Conally finds him alone, *between six and seven† o'clock on Friday evening, in the suburbs.* He appears to have seen none of his brother conspirators before nine, at which time O'Conally left him.

XV. The colonel takes him to the lodgings of a brother conspirator "*into town,*" at the distance, probably, of a mile or two.

XVI. This conspirator not being at home, the colonel, after having taken a drink of beer with his new friend, freely communicates "that there were and would be, this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish, from all parts of the kingdom," whose object was "*to cut off all the Protestants that would not join them.*"[11]

XVII. And they then went back to "*the said Hugh his lodgings,*" in the suburbs, "near Oxmantown," where O'Conally drank till he was drunk.

XVIII. O'Conally, notwithstanding this untoward circumstance, and that he was, two hours afterwards, unable to relate a consistent story, was alert enough "*to leap over a wall, and afterwards over two pales.*"

XIX. Notwithstanding his disordered state, he was able to find his way to sir William Parsons, *into the town,* to whom he communicated the whole affair.

XX. Here let us observe that this very sir William had received information of a plot, several days before, from sir William Cole, "*upon the very first apprehension of something he conceived to be hatching among the Irish.*"[12]

XXI. And further, that this lord justice had written to sir William Cole, "to be very vigilant in inquiring into the occasion of those meetings;[13] whereby it appears that he had suspicions of a conspiracy.

* *Extract of a letter from the Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.*
January 6, 1819.

Dear Sir,—"I find that it was *New Moon*, at Dublin, at about two o'clock in the morning of the 24th of October, 1641, O. S. Consequently the moon must have been *invisible* on the whole night of the 22d–23d of that month.

"Yours, &c.

"Mr. M. Carey. "R. M. Patterson."

† It must have required some time to find out Mac-Mahon's lodgings.

[11] Temple, 20. [12] Idem, 18. [13] Ibid.

XXII. Notwithstanding this information, sir William Parsons, who was jealous of some plot, "hatching among the Irish;" who, of course, ought to be on the *qui vive*, and to take alarm on the slightest intimation of any scheme of that kind; when he received this "broken relation of a matter *so incredible in itself, gave very little belief to it at first*, in regard it came from an obscure person, and one, as he conceived, *somewhat distempered* at that time."[14]

XXIII. "His lordship," with most wonderful sagacity, "hearing this broken relation" of a plot, to explode in about twelve or thirteen hours, for the purpose of cutting the throats of all the Protestants, sends the informer!! between nine and ten at night!! with "order to go again to Mac-Mahon, and get out of him as much certainty of the plot as he could!!!"[15]

XXIV. This informer who "*had been drinking somewhat liberally*"—and was "*somewhat distempered at the time*" was a most admirable spy to make further discoveries, and "to get out of Mac-Mahon as much certainty of the plot, with as many particular circumstances as he could!!!" His fitness for this employment at such a critical moment, was further proved by the circumstance, that on his return he was so far intoxicated, "*the effects of drink being still upon him*" that he could not give in his testimony, till he slept himself sober!!! Therefore, the "conveniency of a bed" being afforded him, "on his repose, having recovered himself, he had his examination taken."

XXV. After sending O'Conally to Mac-Mahon's lodgings, with strict orders "to return back unto him the same evening," sir William went "*privately*, at about ten of the clock that night, to lord Borlace's house, WITHOUT THE TOWN,"[16] whereas O'Conally was directed to come to him at his house "IN THE TOWN."

XXVI. "They sent for such of the council as they knew then to be IN THE TOWN," to lord Borlace's house, "WITHOUT THE TOWN."[17]

XXVII. There they fell into deep consultation "what was fit to be done, attending the *return* of O'Conally."[18]

XXVIII. They then sent in search of him, and found that he had been taken by the watch, and rescued by the servants of sir William Parsons, "who had been sent, amongst others, to walk the streets, and attend his motion."[19]

[14] Temple, 19 [15] Idem, 19. [16] Ibid. [17] Ibid. [18] Ibid. [19] Ibid.

XXIX. "Sensible that his discovery was not thoroughly believed, he professed that whatever he had acquainted the lord Parsons with, was true; and could he but repose himself, (*the effects of drink being still upon him,*) he should discover more."[20]

XXX. "*Whereupon, he had the conveniency of a bed.*"[21]

XXXI. "Having, (on his repose,) *recovered himself,*" he gave in his deposition.

XXXII. This is dated the 22d, and of course must have been made before twelve o'clock.

XXXIII. This deposition gave a full detail of a most murderous plot, whereby "*all the Protestants and English throughout the whole kingdom, were to be cut off the next morning.*"

XXXIV. Possessed of this deposition, which required the most decisive measures of precaution, it becomes a serious question, what did the lords justices do? On this point the whole merits of the question might be rested: and indeed the investigation of any other might be wholly omitted. The answer is, "*They took present order to have a watch privately set upon the lodgings of Mac-Mahon, as also upon the lord Macguire!!!*"

XXXV. In a plain, simple case, in which a schoolboy of ten years old could have at once pointed out the course to be pursued, they spend no less than *five precious hours* "*in consultation,*" and in devising ways and means for the public safety, notwithstanding that the sword, not of Damocles, but of Mac-Mahon, and his bloody-minded associates, hung over them. "They sat up all that night in consultation," "having far stronger presumptions,* upon the latter examination taken, than any ways at first they could entertain."[22]

XXXVI. The result of their long and painful consultation, from twelve o'clock at night till five in the morning, was, that at that late hour, they at length adopted the resolution of apprehending Mac-Mahon!!!!!!

XXXVII. The lords justices had received the names of some of the principal conspirators from O'Conally, and, among the rest, of lord Macguire; had "*privately set a watch,* on Friday night," at his lodgings; they must of course have known that he was equally implicated with Mac-Mahon, and equally demanded the exercise of their vigilance: and yet they did not

* O'Conally swore positively that there was a conspiracy "to murder all the Protestants that would not join" with the conspirators. Yet the justices from this unequivocal testimony only derived "*presumptions*" of their danger!

[20] Borlace, 20. [21] Ibid. [22] Temple, 21

think of arresting him, until after the seizure of the latter, and "a conference with him and others, and *calling to mind a letter received the week before from sir William Cole*," they "gathered" that he "was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin!"[22]

XXXVIII. Owen O'Conally swears, that "in all parts of the kingdom, all the English inhabiting there," are to be "destroyed *to-morrow morning;*" but, in the very next sentence, he swears, "that all the Protestants, in all the sea-ports, and other towns in the kingdom, should be killed *this night.*" It is not easy to conceive, how, after they were "*all killed*" on Friday night, they could be "*all destroyed*" on Saturday morning.

XXXIX. O'Conally's deposition states, that the massacre is to begin at "ten o'clock on the 23d;" to be general "in all parts of the kingdom;" that all the English inhabitants are to be cut off; and that "all the posts that could be, could not prevent it." As this is the cardinal point in the affair, on which the whole turns, if it can be proved to be so unequivocally false and groundless, as to be utterly destitute of even the shadow of truth, then is the entire story a fabrication, and O'Conally a perjurer.

XL. That this explosion did not take place; and that, of course, there could not possibly have been a general conspiracy, there is superabundant testimony, as will appear in the subsequent paragraphs.

XLI. I will first premise, that, as the arrest of Mac-Mahon and Macguire, in consequence of the pretended discovery of the sham plot, took place on the 23d of October, *at five o'clock in the morning*, just five hours before the time fixed for commencing the massacre, that circumstance could not have prevented an explosion in any other part of the kingdom, except in a very small portion of the circumjacent country.

XLII. Yet on Monday, the 25th of October, the lords justices wrote an elaborate and detailed account of the proceedings of the insurgents in the north of Ireland, with a prolix statement of various outrages, not only without the least hint or surmise, but even with an utter exclusion of every idea of murder or shedding of blood.[23]

XLIII. And further, I invoke the most earnest attention of the reader to this all-important fact—Notwithstanding the pre-

[23] See Temple's History, page 34, which contains the account at length.

tended generality of the plot, the lords justices, by public proclamation, on the 29th of October, declared that the insurrection was confined to "the mere old Irish of the province of Ulster, and others who adhered to them."[24]

XLIV. These two strong facts prove that such parts of O'Conally's deposition as relate to the general extent of the conspiracy, and the plot to "cut off all the Protestants throughout the kingdom," are wholly false, and that he of course was an abandoned perjurer; and would decide the question on these vital points, beyond appeal or controversy. But much stronger evidence remains behind, derived from Temple, Borlace, Carte, Leland, and Warner, to which I now invite the attention of the reader.

XLV. Munster *continued tranquil for six weeks*, although according to the testimony of Warner, *it contained but one troop of horse;** and of course, when defended by such an insignificant force, had there been any reality in the plot, the Irish could and would have totally overwhelmed their oppressors.†

* "In the province of Munster, of which sir William St. Leger was lord president, the English were very numerous, and ready to assemble in a body to preserve the peace and safety of the country. But they were utterly destitute of arms; and all the solicitations made by sir William, which were strong and numerous, could not persuade the lords justices and council to spare him any. He was a brave old soldier, with great experience and activity; and did every thing that it was possible for a man to do *with one troop of horse, which was all his guard for the whole province;* a guard scarcely sufficient to repress the insolence of robbers, in a time of profound peace, much less in a time of such general spoil and disturbance. But, with the assistance of the noblemen and gentry of the province, *it continued quiet for above six weeks!!!* Indeed, no man of quality, or gentleman of English blood, either Papist or Protestant, had as yet joined the rebels."[25]

† There is a discrepancy between Temple and Borlace as to the time when the insurrection commenced in Munster; the former stating it "the beginning," and the latter "the midst," of December. This does not, however, affect the disproof of O'Conally's deposition, which, in either case, is notoriously false.

"The flame having marched through Ulster and Leinster, it discovered its fury, *about the beginning of December*, 1641, in Munster, which province till that time, (by the moderation of the state,) had stifled its rage, then expressing its consent with the other provinces."[26]

"The whole province of Munster, *about the midst of this month of December*, BEGAN to declare themselves in open rebellion."[27]

"In Munster, sir William St. Leger, the lord president, a soldier of activity and experience, and possessed even with an inveteracy against the Irish,

[24] Temple, 34. [25] Warner's History of the Irish Rebellion and Civil Wars of Ireland, 4to. London, 1768. p. 130. [26] Borlace, 49. [27] Temple, 155.

XLVI. Connaught was in the same state for six weeks, principally owing to the influence of lord Clanrickarde, a Roman Catholic.*

XLVII. Leinster was likewise tranquil, except some outrages of small importance, until the beginning of December; as the summons to the lords of the Pale to come to Dublin, to consult on the affairs of state, was dated the 3d of that month, at which time there was no appearance of serious disturbance; and the butchery at Santry, by the sanguinary and merciless ruffian, sir Charles Coote,† which was obviously intended to provoke, and actually led to, the insurrection in that province, took place on the 7th.

XLVIII. And further, we have the testimony of Warner and Carte,‡ that the insurrection was *for about six weeks* confined almost wholly to the province of Ulster.

could not obtain arms or soldiers sufficient for a time of peace, much less *for a juncture of distraction and disorder*. Yet the strength of the English Protestants, and *the loyalty of the Irish gentry, as yet preserved this province from any material disorder*."[28]

* "The lord Ranelagh was president of Connaught: and all that province, except a few pillagers in the county of Sligo, had, owing in a great measure to the forward zeal and activity of lord Clanrickarde, though a Roman Catholic, till this time, continued quiet."[29]

"The infection of the pale having spread in the remoter parts, *about the middle of December*, the whole province of Connaught in a manner revolted, the county of Galway, of which lord Clanrickarde was governor, excepted."[30]

"The peace and security of Connaught were equally neglected by the chief governors, although *the English power was inconsiderable in this province*, and the Irish natives kept in continual alarm for twenty-five years, by the prospect of a general plantation, which, though suspended, had not been formally relinquished. *Yet here, too, the good affections of the principal inhabitants stemmed the torrent of rebellion*."[31]

† "The town being left at his [sir Charles Coote's] mercy, *to which he appears to be a stranger*, he put to death several persons, *without distinction of age or sex!!!* in revenge of the several spoils committed on the English in those parts."[32]

"In revenge of their depredations, he [sir Charles Coote] committed *such unprovoked, such ruthless, and indiscriminate carnage* in the town, as rivalled the utmost extravagancies of the Northerns."[33]

‡ "Had the lords justices and council acquitted themselves like men of probity and understanding, there was time enough given them to suppress an insurrection *which for six weeks was confined almost to the province of Ulster*, without any chief that was so considerable as sir Phelim O'Neal."[34]

"*No one nobleman of the kingdom, nor any estated gentleman of English race*, engaged in the rebellion, or joined with the rebels in action, *till the*

[28] Leland's History of Ireland, 4 vols. Philadelphia, 1794. Vol. III. p. 158.
[29] Warner, 157. [30] Idem, 158. [31] Leland, III. 158.
[32] Warner, 135. [33] Leland, III. 168. [34] Warner, 130.

XLIX. That the original views of the insurgents did not comprehend a general massacre, or even single murders, we have further testimony, clear and decisive, derived even from Temple, as well as Warner and Leland, which, independent of all other proof, would be sufficient to settle this question for ever, and utterly overwhelm O'Conally's perjured legend.*

L. Moreover, if there had been a plot for the general insurrection, and such a massacre as O'Conally swore to, there would have been evidence produced from some of the conspirators: but notwithstanding the lords justices had recourse to the execrable aid of the rack, and put Mac-Mahon and others to the torture, there is not, in the examinations of the former, a single word to corroborate the sanguinary part of O'Conally's deposition. The examinations of the rest were never published.

LI. There is not to be found in Temple, Borlace, Carte, Warner, Leland, Clarendon, nor, as far as I have seen, in Rushworth, the examination of a single person engaged in a conspiracy which was said to have extended throughout the whole kingdom, except those of Mac-Mahon and lord Macguire!!!! That of the latter was not taken till March, 1642!

Perhaps the preceding analysis of this miserable legend might supersede the necessity of adding any thing further on the subject. But its great importance, and a deep solicitude to dispel the thick mists with which prejudice and fraud have overspread it, induce me to place it in a new form, and bring it more home to the mind of the reader. The reasons for adopting this measure, which might otherwise appear a work of supererogation, will probably so far satisfy the reader, as to preclude the necessity of an apology.

Queries.

Is there a man in the world who can seriously believe:

I. That a *Catholic* COLONEL, engaged in a plot to murder the *Protestants*, would send forty-five miles for a *Protestant*, SER-

month of December; for as to those gentlemen of the county of Louth, who submitted to them before, being unable to defend themselves or to make resistance, they had not yet appeared in action. *The rebellion till then had been carried on by the mere Irish,* and CONFINED TO ULSTER, *to some few counties in Leinster, and that of Leitrim, in Connaught.*"[35]

* "It was resolved" by the insurgents "*not to kill any,* but where of necessity they should be forced thereunto by opposition."[36]

[35] Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, 3 vols. folio. London, 1736. Vol. I. p. 243.

[36] Temple's History, page 65.

VANT to a *Protestant* gentleman, an inveterate enemy to the Roman Catholics, as an accomplice?

II. That a journey of a hundred and ten miles could be performed in three days and a half, *the sun rising about seven, and setting about five*, at a season of the year when the rains, then usually prevalent, must have rendered the roads almost impassable; and by a man who knew nothing of the business which led to the summons he had received, and who, of course, had no temptation to make any extraordinary exertion?

III. That a stranger, arriving in the suburbs of a city *an hour after sunset*, and fatigued with a long journey, should, *without any aid from the moon*, immediately commence a search for and actually find out the lodgings of another stranger, who had arrived a few hours before?

IV. That Sir William Parsons, who had, at nine in the evening, received intelligence of a plot, to explode at ten the next morning, and the names of some of the principal conspirators should be so misguided, as to send back the drunken informer "*to get out of Mac-Mahon as much certainty of the plot as he could*," instead of immediately apprehending the conspirators?

V. That being "*in town*," he would have gone "*without the town*," and sent there for such of the council as lived "*in town*," when such an awful explosion was likely to take place?

VI. That when the informer returned to the lords justices, he would be allowed to go to bed, before taking his examinations?

VII. That the lords justices would have remained all night, and until five o'clock in the morning, at Lord Borlace's house, *without the town*, and closed the gates, thus shutting themselves out from the defence of the castle?

VIII. That when O'Conally had slept himself sober, and made circumstantial deposition of such alarming particulars, the council would have been such idiots as to take no other precaution than merely "*to have a watch set privately upon the lodgings of Mac-Mahon, and also upon Lord Macguire*," as if they had been plotting to rob orchards or hen-roosts, to bar out a schoolmaster, break lamps in a midnight frolic, or attack the watchmen, instead of plotting to seize the castle, subvert the government, and cut the throats of one or two hundred thousand people?

IX. That the privy council would not, under such circumstances, have instantly apprehended the conspirators, instead of

"*sitting all night in council,*" upon one of the simplest points ever discussed, and which could have been decided in five minutes, as well as in five hours, five weeks, or five years; on which the most prompt and decisive measures were imperiously necessary; and at a moment when, if there were any truth in the statement of O'Conally, the salvation or destruction of the state might depend on a single hour?

X. That having taken the precaution, on Friday night, of "*setting a watch privately upon the lodgings of Lord Macguire,*" thereby establishing their belief that he was an accomplice in the plot, they would not have arrested him at the same time they arrested Mac-Mahon, but waited "*till conference with the latter and others, and calling to mind Sir William Cole's letter,*" which led them to "*gather that the Lord Macguire was to be an actor in surprising the castle of Dublin?*"

XI. That a conspiracy, which was to explode throughout the whole kingdom on the 23d of October, should be arrested in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, by the detection of it, in Dublin, a few hours before the appointed time?

XII. That if it had been intended to murder, on the 23d, "all the Protestants *throughout the kingdom,*" who "would not join the conspirators," there would have been no intelligence of a single murder on the 25th, or that, on the 29th, the lords justices should explicitly declare, that the insurrection was "confined to the mere old Irish in the province of Ulster, and others who had joined them?"

XIII. That though the lords justices had recourse to the execrable expedient of putting Mac-Mahon and others to the rack, they should not have extorted a word from any of them, to support the charge of murderous intentions, if any conspiracy had existed, for "*cutting off all the Protestants and English throughout the kingdom?*"

XIV. That no examinations should have ever been taken of any other of the conspirators?

XV. That if there were a general conspiracy, and of course a large assemblage of people in Dublin, for the purpose of seizing the castle on the 23d, the lords justices would not have been able, on the morning of that day, to apprehend more than two of the leaders and a few common servants?

XVI. That to execute an enterprise of which the success absolutely depended on promptitude and secrecy, people would be collected *from all the thirty-two counties of Ireland, at various*

distances, ten, twenty, thirty, fifty, one hundred, and one hundred and fifty miles from the scene of operations?

XVII. And finally, whether, the deposition of O'Conally being incontrovertibly established as false, and he of course perjured in the two vital points,—

I. The universality of the plot, and

II. The determination to massacre all who would not join in it,

There can be any credit whatever attached to the remainder of his testimony? And whether it does not necessarily follow, that the whole was a manifest fraud and imposture, designed to provoke insurrection, and lead to its usual and inevitable result,—confiscation?

Reflections on the Subject of Emigration from Europe, with a View to Settlement in the United States: containing Brief Sketches of the Moral and Political Character of this Country.

"Where liberty dwells—there is my country."

"The only encouragements this country holds out to strangers, are—a "good climate, fertile soil, wholesome air and water, plenty of provisions, "good pay for labour, kind neighbours, good laws, a free government, and a "hearty welcome. The rest depends on a man's industry and virtues."

PREFACE.

The following pages are respectfully submitted to the consideration of such of the inhabitants of Europe as find themselves crowded by exuberant population, and contemplate trying their fortunes in foreign countries. They contain a naked, unvarnished tale of the situation of a country blest with every variety of soil, climate, and agricultural and mineral productions—intersected by most magnificent rivers—and with a sea-coast 5000 miles in extent, including indentations and estuaries—a country, which, two hundred years ago, was a mere desert—which fifty years ago contained only about 2,500,000 of souls, and was in a state of colonial dependence on the most powerful nation in Europe—but which now contains twenty-four distinct sovereignties—and 12,000,000 souls—is the second maritime and commercial power in the world—and enjoys the freest form of government that ever existed—a country, in fine, which only re-

quires a sound policy to elevate it gradually to the highest rank among the nations of the earth.

I have been induced to undertake this publication in the hope of rendering essential service on both sides of the Atlantic. —Should it be realized, the result will be abundant reward. But sanguine temperaments are liable to frequent disappointments. I may, therefore, be wholly deceived in my expectations, as this essay may fall still-born from the press. The intention, in that case, will, it is presumed, plead an apology for the unnecessary intrusion on the public eye.

My object is two-fold—it is not merely to point out the description of persons to whom emigration to this country would be advantageous, but also to hold out a beacon to those to whom it would be unadvisable to remove hither. Many a man in comfortable circumstances in Europe, allured by golden dreams, has shipwrecked his fortunes by change of hemisphere.

While the United States have the capacity* of maintaining hundreds of millions of inhabitants beyond their present numbers, that is to say, I repeat, under a sound policy, Great Britain and Ireland, and many other parts of Europe, are groaning under a superabundant population, whose condition, in various countries, is gradually deteriorating, by the increasing competition for employment. It is not a very overstrained figure to say, that they are literally devouring each other. Is it not, therefore, highly desirable that such an understanding should prevail on the subject, as will enable one country to part with what it can so advantageously spare, and another to receive that of which it is in want, and which it can of course so advantageously receive? Not only would the condition of those emigrating, but of those who remained behind, be improved. Every hundred or thousand persons who emigrate from an overstocked country, increase the value of the labour, and improve the prospect of happiness, of those who remain. To produce this happy result is one of the objects of this publication.

Great Britain incurs great expense in promoting emigration

* It is a remarkable circumstance, that notwithstanding this capacity, such is the effect of our wayward policy, that almost every avocation or pursuit in this country is crowded. We have too many lawyers, too many doctors, too many farmers, too many cotton and tobacco planters, and too many manufactures of most descriptions. The classes for which we want supplies, are principally mechanics and labourers.

from Ireland to the Cape of Good Hope and to Canada, in order to lessen the population of that ill-fated country. It would be a national benefit, therefore, to the British government, to open an asylum for distressed Irish in this country, and thus save it from the expense of their removal.

The superabundance of the unemployed population of Ireland arises from the ruinous policy of the government, and the extravagant drains of the national wealth by the absentees, being no less than $13,500,000 per annum. The same effect is produced in Great Britain by the wonderful improvement of machinery, which supersedes the labour of the working classes, reduces their wages in many cases to the minimum of the support of a mere existence; and in some, even below that wretched modicum, thus sinking a large proportion of them into the degraded state of paupers.

Some of our political economists are loud and unqualified in their praise of mechanical improvements, as tending to increase national wealth and resources. To a certain extent, and under certain limitations, this doctrine is perfectly correct. That they have that tendency cannot be denied. But alas! how dear the purchase, under particular circumstances! What masses of misery have they not produced in Great Britain! They have sunk into abasement an important part of the population, and quadrupled the paupers of that country, whose numbers have regularly increased in proportion to the improvement of machinery. The friends of humanity will have no difficulty in deciding the question between the advantages and disadvantages of a system producing such deleterious effects.* Can

* I should deeply regret were it supposed, from the passage in the text, that I entertain the heterodoxical opinion, that improvements in labour-saving machinery are on the whole pernicious. Far from it. They are generally salutary. In fact, were consumption to keep pace with the power of production, they would be universally so. But as the best things in the world may become pernicious by abuse or excess, so the prodigious improvements in machinery, whenever, by depriving large bodies of people of employment, they reduce them to wretchedness and beggary, are a public nuisance, and frequently operate as perniciously on the interests of the employers as the employed. This is strongly exemplified in Great Britain at present in the cotton trade. Production, in consequence of its extraordinary facility, outruns consumption—hence all the markets in the world, open to the reception of British cotton fabrics, are almost constantly glutted with them—and the prices are consequently reduced below a proper remuneration. Remittances fail. Production is then diminished. Distress and desolation spread through

any increase of national wealth and resources compensate for the degradation and misery of probably ten to fifteen per cent. of the entire population of a nation? If the true art of government, and the duty of governors, be, to produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the governed, then the extraordinary extent of the so-much-lauded improvements in machinery, is any thing but a blessing to *a country with a crowded population, especially when there is a difficulty of egress.* If, however, that portion of the population, who, by machinery, are deprived of work, their only means of procuring subsistence, be enabled to find other employment, or to withdraw to other countries, then the improvement produces nothing but unmixed good. Under a wise policy for the protection of national industry, such as is pursued by all the prosperous nations of Europe, securing a steady home market as far as possible to the agricultural citizens, countries like the United States, with a

the working classes—and the wretched journeymen are thrown on the overseers of the poor for support. If this state of things be a blessing, then the extreme improvements of labour-saving machinery are a blessing of the first order, and cannot be carried too far. But, "there's the rub." The following summary view of the state of the cotton manufacturers, at the date of late advices from Liverpool, extracted from the National Gazette of May 22, 1826, affords a full confirmation of these doctrines, however repugnant they may appear to, and however strongly they may be condemned by, theoretical political economists.

England.—"The accounts of commercial embarrassments and private distresses—the inevitable result of those embarrassments—are indeed melancholy.—Letters received in London on the 18th ult., from Manchester, carried intelligence of the reappearance of distress in that place. Between 40 and 50,000 persons were out of employment, and many almost in a state of starvation. The want of orders by the manufacturers was assigned as the cause of the unfortunate recurrence of these distressing events. Unexampled misery reigned among the wretched manufacturers of Blackburn. Thousands and tens of thousands were without sustenance or bread. Whole families in that district are dying of want. The moan of famine meets the agonized ear from famished fathers and starving children."

"We are informed that on Saturday last, the principal manufactory in the neighbouring town of Tewkesbury was closed; *the owner, a man of property, being determined no longer to pursue a losing business. In consequence of this resolve, four hundred hands were turned out of employment, and all the looms were called in, the manufactory being in the stocking line.* The distress which this sudden and unexpected event has occasioned, may be better understood than described, when we add, that the rates and taxes in that parish are computed to amount to 17*s.* in the pound. The head of the manufactory was Mr. Terrett."—*Cheltenham Chron.*

population small in proportion to their extent, with vast bodies of uncultivated lands, labour dear and land cheap, would derive immense advantages from improvements in machinery. Why? The reason is obvious. Because the manufacturers, deprived of employment, could readily devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and thus preserve a proper proportion between supply and demand.

It cannot fail to be useful to display the effects of the improvements in question, by facts of the most conclusive character. Arkwright's celebrated machinery was patented in 1768, but was not brought to perfection till 1775. Further important improvements were made from year to year. Let us see the effect on the poor rates, and on the working part of the population.

	Expended for the Poor.*	Persons relieved, without reckoning Children.†
1749	£ 700,000 = $ 3,150,000	In 1813 - - - 971,913
1770	1,306,000 = 6,877,000	1814 - - - 953,995
1776	1,521,732 = 6,847,894	1815 - - - 895,973
1785	1,912,241 = 8,605,084	
1803	4,077,891 = 18,349,509	
1815	6,129,844 = 27,684,298	
1819-20	7,329,504 = 32,983,673	
1822-23	5,772,988 = 25,978,446	

The reduction in 1822-23, probably arose from the great reduction of the prices of provisions.

That this frightful increase of pauperism and misery, and of poor rates, is the result of the increase and improvement of machinery, cannot, I think, for a moment be questioned. It is asserted that the machinery at present in use in Great Britain, produces as much manufactures as would require above 200,000,000 of people to execute. The obvious effects of this astonishing productiveness, are, I repeat, to diminish the demand for manual labour—increase the competition among the manufacturers and among the labouring classes—force the latter to underbid each other—reduce the rate of their wages—and thus entail on them distress and misery.

In order to show the effect of the increase of machinery on the wages of those employed in the departments of industry in which it is most extensively used, I annex the following extracts from Tooke's "Thoughts on High and Low Prices." I regret

* Statistical Illustrations, p. 21.

† Lowe's Present State of England, p. 189

that his tables extend no further back than to 1810, as there is every reason to suppose that the previous reductions were still greater than those subsequent to that period. His tables close with the year 1820.

	1810	1815	1820
Fine spinners, per week . . .	42*s.* 6*d.*	32*s.* 0*d.*	32*s.* 0*d.*
Pickers	11 3	10 0	9 0
Weaving nankeen	16 3	13 2	9 6
Best calicoes		10 10	8 3
Manchester 80 reed, 6-4 . . .	14 0	10 3	6 9

It is worthy of remark, that the wages of journeymen employed in other branches than those interfered with by machinery, and of porters, have undergone no material alteration —and that some of them have even been enhanced. The wages of blockmakers 14*s.* per week; dyers and dressers, 15*s.*; tailors, 18*s.* 6*d.*; shoemakers, 16*s.*; porters, 18*s.*; packers, 20*s.*; whitesmiths, 25*s.*; stone-masons, 23*s.*; bricklayers, 22*s.* 6*d.*; painters, 22*s.*; slaters, 21*s.*; plasterers, 19*s.*; bricklayers' and plasterers' labourers, 15*s.* 2*d.*; spademen, 15*s.*; were exactly the same in 1820 as in 1810. What they are at present I have no means of ascertaining. Carpenters, whose wages in 1810 were 20*s.*, received 30*s.* in 1820.

I have in a great degree confined my views to the state of Pennsylvania, but by no means wish it understood that this state ought to attract the attention of emigrants exclusively. New York has great advantages, and of course holds out corresponding encouragement. The difference, however, is not very material between the two states—and most of the observations made with respect to the one, apply with little variation to the other. The greatness of the capital of New York must rest chiefly on the basis of commerce—while Philadelphia, although advantageously situated for commerce, and owning vessels in the foreign trade to the amount of 62,610 tons, and in the coasting trade to the amount of 27,556 tons, is more devoted to manufactures than to commerce, and must rest her hopes of a high degree of prosperity mainly on the former.

Dr. Franklin truly stated that "this was a country of labour" And it has undergone no alteration since the days of

that illustrious philosopher. Let no man, therefore, whether farmer, mechanic, manufacturer, or labourer, delude himself into the opinion that by emigration into the United States he can dispense with labour. Nothing can be more erroneous.

Let it, however, be observed, as a source of consolation to those descriptions of persons who are more particularly wanted in the United States, that there is probably no country where the same degree of comfort and enjoyment can be procured by the working classes, with the same degree of exertion. For two days' labour, at twelve hours per day, a journeyman at most of the trades carried on in Philadelphia or New York, can procure wholesome, substantial food in sufficient abundance, flesh meat of good quality included, for one week. Is there any other country under the canopy of heaven, of which the same statement can be made to the same extent, and with equal truth? However, let me repeat, in the most forcible language, and I hope it will have its due weight in those quarters for which it is intended, that no man ought, on any account whatever, to cross the Atlantic to settle in the United States, unless he be seriously disposed to industry and economy, and determined not to be discouraged by those difficulties, which, even under favourable auspices, rarely fail to attend a change of country: nor is it advisable for any man in Europe, who is happily or comfortably situated, to emigrate to this or any other country. Let all such men remember the old admonitory epitaph, too often and most destructively neglected—"I was well——I would be better——Here I am."

Philadelphia, May 25, 1826.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

Although I have been gratified with the unequivocal approbation this pamphlet has almost universally experienced, yet three of my friends have made objections to it, which appear to deserve notice.

One gentleman thinks it not sufficiently elaborated—and that it ought to be more full and more in detail. To this I reply, that I could have easily, but perhaps not very usefully, extended it to twice or thrice its present size. But I sought to compress the matter into the smallest compass, so as to secure the greatest circulation and the greatest number of readers. My

object was to give merely a general outline of the situation of the country, in order to afford encouragement to those whose immigration is desirable to this nation, and would be advantageous to themselves, and likewise to discourage those to whom it would probably be prejudicial. This object, surely, did not require much detail—and I trust is fully accomplished. It is, I repeat once more, to be lamented, that while by a sound policy this country might really be, what it was once announced to be—"AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRESSED OF ALL NATIONS," the mistaken policy of our government contracts, within very narrow limits, the number of those to whom immigration into it would be advantageous. Had the sound policy here alluded to, been pursued since the organization of our government, we might have had an annual accession to our population of 30, 40, or 50,000, of the most useful of the people of Europe, with their talents, industry, and capital. These immense advantages, the extent and importance of which it is difficult to calculate, we have wantonly thrown away. I need not add, that there is no country in the world, into which immigration should be more studiously promoted by every fair means, than the United States.

The second critic presumes I ought to have established my statements by documents. Few men carry this plan more fully into execution than I do, whenever necessary—as is manifest from the Olive Branch, the Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, and indeed, my writings generally. But in the present case, I did not presume that this mode of support was at all necessary. I flattered myself that it was scarcely possible, from the whole tenor of the work, to mistake the motives of the writer, or to entertain a reasonable doubt of the correctness of his statements. This opinion remains unchanged.

The third objection, made by an enlightened citizen, appears more surprising than the others, particularly considering the quarter from which it emanates. It is, that I ought to have gone into details respecting the situation of the people of England and Ireland, and contrasted it with that of our citizens. Is this a valid objection? I believe not. The pamphlet is chiefly intended for those countries, and surely it could not be necessary to depict to the suffering poor of either, the nature or extent of their distress, or to form a contrast between their situation and that to which they may aspire here. They know too well the evils under which they labour, to require to be re-

minded of them—and all that was necessary on my part, was to place before them the prospect held out by this country, which I have faithfully, and I hope successfully endeavoured to do. Those, then, for whom the pamphlet is intended, will have an opportunity to make the contrast, and decide for themselves.

This critic has another objection. He says the tendency of this pamphlet is to discourage emigration from Europe, which it ought, on the contrary, to have encouraged. If a true picture of the state of the country have such a tendency, let the censure fall where it ought, on the promoters of the policy, which produces such an injurious effect. No part of it can justly attach to the writer who merely draws the picture.

One other point remains to be mentioned. In the former editions I stated the number of *families* relieved by the poor rates in Great Britain at 725,566 in 1803, and 939,977 in 1815. This statement was taken from a very valuable work, entitled "Statistical Illustrations of the Territorial Extent, Population, Taxation, Consumption, Insolvency, and Pauperism of the British Empire." But I find that Lowe, in his "Present State of England," gives a different view of the affair, which appears greatly to reduce the number. He says, "the *persons* receiving relief in England and Wales, amount, *without reckoning children*, to nearly a million." Probably we might assume as many children as grown persons, which would make nearly two millions. The other statement by families, and assuming only four to a family, would make nearly double the number.

I have no means of deciding between these conflicting authorities—but Lowe's numbers being rather more probable than those of the other writer, I have adopted them in this edition.

Philadelphia, June 28, 1826.

REFLECTIONS, *&c.*

When a man is deliberating about emigrating from his native country, and abandoning his friends and relatives, with all those objects endeared to him by associations from his infancy, it behoves him well to consider the character, habits, and manners of the people among whom he intends to domiciliate him-

self—the situation of the country—the state of society—the prospects of success in the peculiar occupation which he proposes to follow; to weigh well the various disadvantages to which immigrants are more or less liable in strange countries, against those under which he labours at home—as well as the advantages he hopes to enjoy, against those his native country affords—and then, according to the preponderance on either side, to form his decision. This is the course which prudence dictates, and, when pursued with the care, attention, and scrutiny which the importance of the subject demands, can scarcely fail to lead to satisfactory results.

To enable persons in Europe, inclined to emigrate, to decide this serious question, so far as regards this country, I shall present, as briefly as possible, such views of those points most necessary to be considered, in the character of the people, and in the situation of the United States, as cannot fail to aid in forming a correct judgment. These views are the result of a residence here, of above forty years: and, having arrived at mature age before I emigrated from Ireland, I hope I may assume to be in some degree qualified to make a comparison between the two portions of the globe.

Manners of the People.

Cobbet in four words drew as accurate a portrait of the national character of the people of the United States, as probably ever was drawn of any nation, on one point, of vital importance to immigrants. He said they are—"*civil, but not servile.*" This, I repeat, is strictly accurate, and is highly honourable. A man may travel from the most northern boundary of the country to the gulf of Florida—and from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains; and, provided he conduct himself decorously, he will be uniformly treated with civility. There are few countries in the world, of which the same declaration can be so unqualifiedly made. But let the traveller or settler, how high or exalted soever he be, by descent, standing, official station, personal or intellectual endowments, or fortune, as he values his peace and comfort, beware of indulging in impertinence, petulance, or insolence. Whenever he places himself in those repulsive attitudes, he may rest assured of being humbled and mortified, not merely by those who are his equals in point of fortune or talents, but even by the lowest members of society, who, accustomed to civility from the most exalted of their own coun-

trymen, will not for a moment submit to insolence or impertinence from strangers. Those Europeans, therefore, who have been accustomed to domineer over, and even occasionally to strike, servants and other persons in humble stations, must wholly change their manners here, or else they will pay a heavy forfeit. I am persuaded there is scarcely a single servant, black or white, of the lowest order in Philadelphia, who would submit, without return, to a stroke from a lord or a duke, "hung round with stars and garters," or from a Crœsus, nor even to be outraged with those gross and scurrilous epithets, which wealth and pride in certain parts of Europe, so freely lavish on persons in subordinate situations.

To the mass of persons disposed to emigrate from Europe, who are generally in the middle and humble walks of life, principally in the latter, this is a most important consideration. They will not be obliged to crouch to fellow mortals, nor to submit to insolence or stripes from them, because those lordlings have more worldly wealth or higher rank than they. The poorest members of society may stand erect and unawed in the presence of their fellow man, whatever may be his grade, his station, or his wealth.

This estimable feature in the American character is derived chiefly from the freedom of the governments, which, from the earliest period to the present time, have never recognised any of those arbitrary distinctions which prevail in Europe, dividing the people into castes, elevating the smaller number into something like "superior beings," and in the same degree degrading the majority. The benignant operation of this state of things may be readily conceived. But another cause has, from the first settlement of America, co-operated to produce this effect. The facility of acquiring landed property in this country, has been uniformly so great, and the inducement to take an independent grade in society, are such powerful incentives to the purchase of that species of property, that labourers and hired people of all descriptions, (having universally had such liberal wages, that by economy they might in a few years save enough to buy farms,) have been, at all times, with hardly an exception, scarce and in demand. Employers, therefore, have held their hired people by a very precarious tenure. The latter knew their own value, and would not submit to harsh treatment. The former, aware of the consequence of oppression or ill usage, found the necessity of courteous behaviour. The steady

operation of both the causes above recited, has produced that delightful state of society, as regards the wealthy and those in humble life, in which the one would not dare to oppress, and the other would not submit to oppression.

The endearing relation between parents and children partakes largely of the same mild character. The austerity, the harshness, and the severity which characterize this relation in some parts of Europe, are here unknown, except among a few foreigners, who have brought hither the manners of their own countries. Children are scarcely ever banished into nurseries, or entrusted wholly to the care of hired servants, as is too frequently the case there. From an early period they are made companions by their parents, which affords an opportunity of expanding their ideas long before they would reach maturity, in the seclusion to which children in Europe are often subjected. They are likewise much earlier introduced into company than in that quarter. This inspires a confidence in themselves, extremely advantageous in their progress through life. In many cases, however, indulgence is here carried to a censurable extreme, and parental authority not sufficiently exercised. But in general the happy medium is preserved between over indulgence and degrading severity. I have known some foreigners use a whip or other instrument of correction to their children at 18, 19, 20, and even beyond the period when minority had expired. No such case is to be found among natives of this country. A man who struck his child at that age, would be regarded with disgust, and put into Coventry.

The pernicious and unnatural system of primogeniture, whereby the rights, the happiness, and the fortunes of the junior branches of a family are sacrificed for the aggrandizement of the oldest son, is execrated in this country, and unknown to its laws and constitutions.

The marriage connexion, on the proper regulation of which so large a portion of public virtue and happiness depends, takes place here rationally, and very differently from the custom in some parts of Europe. Control or coercion is altogether unknown. The parties are, in almost every case, as, with some slight limitation, they ought to be in all, perfectly free agents. Matches are scarcely ever definitively made by parents. Stipulations for fortune on the part of the male are extremely rare; and therefore daughters are incomparably easier settled here than in other countries, in many of which, the sex, without for-

tune or great personal beauty, undergoes a withering neglect. This consideration, to parents influenced by proper regard for the welfare and happiness of their children, is all-important. A parent who has a fortune to bestow with his daughter, frequently settles it on her and her issue, thus guarding her and them against the contingencies to which human affairs are unfortunately so liable.

When men enter into society, besides various minor advantages proposed, there are three great objects in view—security of person—security of property—and the glorious privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of their consciences. Now it is easy to prove that there is no country superior, perhaps I might say, equal to the United States in these respects.

Security of Person.

With respect to this species of security, a very brief view will be sufficient for our purpose.

Trial by jury is secured to every person accused of crime. Unreasonable bail is expressly forbidden by our constitutions. The habeas corpus, that sacred bulwark of liberty, is in full force, and, amidst all the difficulties and dangers that the country has had to struggle with, in a period of infancy and comparative feebleness, was never suspended, but in the extraordinary emergency and danger of New Orleans, when it being believed that some timid or disaffected citizens contemplated a surrender of the place to the British, General Jackson proclaimed martial law, to save that all-important city, which, but for that bold measure, might perhaps have been captured.

Taxation and Support of Government.

The taxes in the United States are comparatively insignificant. There is no excise, nor direct tax imposed by the general government, the support of which is derived wholly from the impost on imported goods, tonnage duties, and the sale of public lands. The support of the government of Pennsylvania is derived from auction duties, arrears of the payment of public lands, tavern licenses, and licenses for the sale of foreign merchandise. The county taxes are generally very moderate, and the funds obtained from them are employed for the payment of the expenses attendant on the administration of justice, the preservation and improvement of public roads, and the support of the poor and the education of their children. The expenditure

and application of the money raised by those taxes are committed to persons annually elected by those who pay them.

The poor tax, so excessively burdensome in England,* is insignificant in the United States, and probably does not exceed, throughout the state of Pennsylvania, cities and towns excepted, one shilling sterling per head. In the cities it is higher. In Philadelphia, with a population of 150,000 souls, the poor tax of 1829 was only $88,508, and this is greatly beyond the proper proportion of the city, as the chief part of the paupers of the state centre in the metropolis. The whole of the taxes of the city of Philadelphia for 1829, for pitching, paving, lighting, watching the city, and for the support of the poor, was only $359,486, equal to £79,885.

It cannot fail to be satisfactory to state the expenses for the support of the government of Pennsylvania, in 1828, with a population of about 1,500,000 souls, above one-tenth of the population of Great Britain (14,379,677).

Senate	$31,361
House of Representatives	66,906
Executive Department	11,004
Judiciary	68,740
Treasury	4,758
Accountant	4,507
Land Office	6,200
Surveyor General's Office	4,996
Contingent expenses	6,282
	$204,754

Equal to about 14 cents, or 7½ pence sterling, per head.

A view of the expenditure of the government of the United States for one year, showing how cheaply a great nation may be governed, cannot be uninteresting to those who contemplate a removal to, or feel an interest in, this country.

* The poor rates on 100 acres in England in 1813, were £38 19*s.* 2*d.* about 175 dollars. *Lowe*, page 152.

Expenses of the Government of the United States for the year 1828.

Congress	$617,560	equal to sterling about	£137,235
Executive Department, including the mint, surveying department, public buildings, &c.	581,755		129,278
Judiciary	256,175		56,927
Miscellaneous, including government of territories, subscriptions for canals, &c. &c.	434,622		96,582
Public buildings at Washington	114,354		25,412
Revolutionary claims	409,064		90,907
Revolutionary pensions	723,134		160,696
Light House establishment	261,308		58,068
Military Department, including fortifications, arming the militia, &c.	4,996,622		1,110,404
Naval Department	3,925,867		872,414
Interest of public debt	3,098,800		688,620
Principal paid off	9,064,638		2,014,364
Total	$24,484,099		£5,440,909

SUMMARY.

Legislative, Executive, Judiciary, Military, and Naval Establishments, &c.	$11,597,527		£2,577,228
Redemption and interest of public debt	12,163,438		2,702,986
Revolutionary pensions	723,134		160,696
Total	$24,484,099		£5,440,910

It thus appears, that deducting the revolutionary pensions, the interest of the public debt, and the payment of part of it, the government of the United States is carried on at an expense of 100 cents, or about 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling, per head, being not *one-half of the amount of the poor rates in England.*

Religion.

There is certainly no part of Europe in which religious liberty is to be found as it prevails here. In this point the United States stand proudly pre-eminent over almost all the nations of the eastern hemisphere, from the period when christianity was there taken under the protection of government, to the present time. Almost every where in Europe there is a national religion, which is supported by the government, and domineers over all others—from the followers of which it levies contributions for the support of its clergy. In some countries, the professors of religions different from the established one, are ex-

cluded from important offices, however great their talents or merits.

Our citizens are free as air, to worship God in whatever form or mode they please. Religion interposes no bar or disqualification as regards civil rights. The Jew,* the Roman Catholic, the most rigid Calvinist, the Protestant Episcopalian, the Pædo Baptist, the Anti-Pædo Baptist, the Socinian, the Swedenborgian, all, all stand on the same ground in the public eye†—and the charities and enjoyments of social life are never interrupted by differences of religion, how great soever they may be.

That this state of religious liberty has a benign effect, cannot be doubted, as there is no country in Europe which contains a greater number of truly religious persons than the United States, in proportion to population.

So far as regards religion, there is no such word in the American language as "toleration." This disgraceful word, in the English and French, and other European languages, means, that a miserable worm, who worships God in one particular form, permits his fellow worm to do the same—and does not subject him to fines and forfeitures—impale him on a stake—suspend him on a gibbet—or light faggots to burn him to death, as the forefathers of almost all Christian denominations, Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians, did in days past!

Connected with this subject, is the support of the clergy: and here how transcendant American superiority! our happy citizens are not obliged to devote to a pampered establishment a tenth part of the produce of the soil,‡ besides supporting the clergy of their own particular denomination. The man, therefore, who raises five thousand bushels of wheat, is not compelled, as in Great Britain and Ireland, to give five hundred, or one hundred, or even ten bushels, to a clergyman over whose appointment he has had no control, and whose religion he perhaps abhors.

* The Jews in Maryland were excluded from public office by law, until lately, when that odious badge of bigotry and intolerance was happily removed.

† In one or two of the states, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from public offices, enacted in times of intolerance and bigotry, remains in the constitutions. But there is no doubt that whenever those constitutions are submitted to conventions for revision, this foul stain will be obliterated.

‡ Lowe states the tithes of 100 acres of land in England in 1813, at £38 17*s.* 3*d.* sterling, about 174 dollars. Page 152.

In nearly all the states, the support of the clergy is wholly voluntary. In cities and towns, and sometimes in villages, the rents of pews generally afford a sufficient income for the purpose. The citizens of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, are subjected to a small annual tax for the maintenance of Christian worship—but they have the right to select the clergymen to whom it shall be paid. There is not the shadow, from Maine to Florida, of a religious establishment connected with the government.

Political Privileges.

This is an important feature in the character of the country. In the states of Pennsylvania and New York, every citizen paying tax of any kind, is entitled to the right of suffrage as fully and as completely as the owner of a million of acres—or the possessor of the wealth of Crœsus—and all offices of honour and emolument, except the presidency of the United States, (which is the only one that requires that the occupant be a native citizen, or have been a citizen at the time of the adoption of the existing form of government, 1787,) are as fully open to a naturalized as to a native citizen. Many highly important offices in different states, and under the general government, are filled by the former. The following are the terms on which citizenship may be acquired by foreigners. Five years uninterrupted residence in the United States, and one year in the state where it is applied for—a declaration, on oath or affirmation, three years before the application, of a bona fide intention to become a citizen, and of a determination to support the constitution of the United States, with a renunciation of allegiance to all foreign powers.

The number of votes presented, in the city of Philadelphia, for members of the legislature is about 7,500. The whole number of votes given for governor of the state at the election in 1829, was 129,995, or more than one-twelfth of the whole population. What an immense difference between this and the state of representation in Great Britain, Ireland, and France!

Criminal Code.

Human life has its proper value in the United States—not so in Europe. In Pennsylvania there is but one capital crime—murder in the first degree. The severity of the criminal code has been gradually mitigating from year to year in most of the states. In some the mitigation has been slow; in others rapid

and important. But the progress of public opinion affords a sure pledge that at no distant day the criminal code of all the states will be purified from the wanton waste of human life engrafted on our systems by an imitation of the codes of Europe.

Fire-Arms and Game Laws.

While in parts of Europe the qualifications for the free use of fire-arms are so rigorous, and the expense of a license to keep them so great, that nineteen-twentieths of the population are wholly debarred from the possession of those weapons,* lest

* The following view of the Game Laws of England, is taken, verbatim, from the "Parliamentary History and Review of the Session of 1825."

"The only persons, with very insignificant exceptions, who are permitted to kill game, are those who have estates of inheritance of the value of £100 a year; estates for a term of life, or leases for not less than 99 years, of the value of £150 a year; and the sons, and heirs apparent of esquires, or other persons of high degree. With respect to the consumption of game, it is by law confined to the persons who are authorized to kill it, and to those to whom they choose to give it. The buying and selling of game are both prohibited, even to persons qualified to kill it. The houses of unqualified persons may be searched, and heavy penalties are imposed for the mere possession of the sacred commodity by common beings.

"All qualified persons must also pay a tax and receive a certificate before they avail themselves of their qualifications. By the way, no one is entitled to shoot any sort of game except *hares*. The penalty for every head of game shot, under the statute of James I. which remains unrepealed, is 20*s*. *Thus*, BY LAW, *every sportsman in England is a poacher—so utterly despised are these laws by the rich, while they are so rigorously enforced against the poor*."—Page 775.

"*The number of persons annually incarcerated, is, on the average*, 12 *or* 1300, *for offences against the game laws*. According to a return printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 24th February, 1825, there were 581 persons actually in the several jails of Great Britain for these offences!"—*Idem*, 776.

A bill for the modification of the game laws was introduced into the House of Commons in March, 1825, and, after considerable debate, rejected. It may afford some relief to the serious tenor of this pamphlet, to give a few of the ludicrous arguments gravely adduced against the bill.

"Sir H. Vivian called on the house to look particularly at the effect which this bill was likely to have on country gentlemen, who frequently visited their estates for the purpose of sporting. *It would encourage poaching!* and put an end to fox hunting, a sport of which he was fond, and the enjoyment of which drew many gentlemen to the country. *Fox hunting was not so useless an amusement as some persons imagined*. In proof of this he instanced the opinion of the Duke of Wellington, (who, he observed, had added much to our military glory,) *that for service that required exertion and despatch, he always preferred those officers who had been accustomed to cross a country*,

they should use them to rescue themselves from oppression; every man in this country, in however low or humble a rank in society, may purchase and keep as many as he may judge proper and can pay for. And so far as regards game, the possessor of millions has no privilege beyond that which is enjoyed by one of our humblest citizens.

Having pointed out a few of the prominent features in the moral and political character of the United States, I proceed to consider the descriptions of persons to whom it holds out advantages and inducements to emigrate from their native countries, and also those to whom emigration for the purpose of settlement here, would be disadvantageous.

Agriculturists.

The greatest evil in the United States, is the excess of the agricultural population,* which is at least 30 per cent. more

(hear, hear, and a laugh.) He (Sir H. Vivian,) fully concurred in this opinion, and had invariably acted upon it."—*Idem, p.* 559.

"The Earl of Westmoreland opposed a measure which affected the rights and habits of *every one of the king's subjects. The bill was really a most tyrannical and despotic measure,* (a laugh,) *and borrowed itself only from the horrors of the French Revolution,* (renewed laughter.) The noble lord opposite kept back from the house what this bill really was. He spoke of it as one of popular rights and fairness—Aye—noble lords might laugh; but he repeated, that *it borrowed itself from the horrors of the French Revolution.*" —Idem, p. 560.

* The population of the United States in the year 1820, when the last census was taken, was arranged as follows—

	Heads of families.	Per cent.
Engaged in agriculture	2,079,363	83
in manufactures and the mechanic arts	349,643	14
in commerce, including shopkeepers generally . . .	72,558	3
	2,501,564	100

The whole of the population at that period was 9,614,415, and was thus distributed—

Engaged in agriculture	8,022,319	83
in manufactures and the mechanic arts	1,351,622	14
in commerce and shopkeeping .	280,474	3
	9,654,415	100

The

than is necessary to furnish the foreign and domestic markets, limited as the former are by the wise policy of the European nations, which protect their own agriculturists, and never admit our bread stuffs, but when in danger of famine, or of such a scarcity as will so far enhance the price of those necessaries of life, as to oppress and distress the poorer classes of society; and impose enormous duties, almost prohibitory, on other great staples of the country.

The mischievous effects of this unwise distribution of our population, were not felt during the wars of the French Revolution, nor for a year or two afterwards, while the European markets were open to our bread stuffs, which commanded extravagant prices. But since those markets were closed in the fall of 1817,* the operation of this undue proportion of agriculturists has been highly pernicious. The export of flour in 1817, was 1,488,198 barrels, amounting to $17,751,375. Whereas, in 1822, 1823, and 1824, the export was only 2,581,359 barrels, amounting to $15,724,829—or an average of 860,453 barrels, and $5,241,609. The export of 1828 was 860,809 barrels, amounting to only $4,296,936.

From this view, it is evident that the policy of our government has a withering influence on the agriculture of the United States. All the markets of the world, wherein the produce of our soil is received, are almost constantly glutted with our great staples, bread stuffs, cotton, and tobacco, the prices of which

The total number of *families* in Great Britain in 1821, was	-	2,931,083
Of which, were engaged in agriculture	978,656	
in manufactures . . .	924,432	
trade and commerce . .	415,507	
all other descriptions . .	612,488	
		2,931,083

Thus, while in Great Britain one-third part of the population suffices for agriculture, and feeds the whole, there are, in this country, 83 per cent. engaged in that pursuit, the whole amount of whose exports in the year 1828, was only $50,669,669—produced by about 12,000,000 people: and, excluding tobacco, cotton, and rice, (produced by about 1,500,000 persons,) the whole of the exports of the remaining 8,500,000 agriculturists, was only $20,391,789!!! Whereas the export from Great Britain in 1825, of the mere article of cotton yarn, produced probably by 550,000 persons, was £3,135,496, equal to $14,109,732!!!!! What stupendous facts!

* The British ports were opened for the reception of our flour in November, 1818, and continued open until February, 1819.

are therefore greatly depressed, to the injury of our farmers and planters, and the too frequent ruin of our merchants.* Against

* The consequence of this pernicious state of things, is, that it very frequently happens, that the greater the quantity of our leading staples we export, the less they produce; for instance, as will appear below, 144,675,095 lbs. of cotton produced in 1822, $24,035,058, whereas, in the following year, 173,723,270 lbs. produced only $20,445,520. Again: In 1819, 750,660 barrels of flour produced $6,005,280—but in the following year, 1,117,036 barrels produced only $5,296,664. This general result of glutted markets, occasionally, it is true, controlled and counteracted by circumstances, was two hundred years since discerned, and as far as practicable guarded against, by the sagacious policy of the Dutch, in the case of spices. They limited the cultivation within bounds calculated to guard against a ruinous diminution of price; and, when the crops were too abundant, went the extraordinary length of destroying the surplus quantity. Whereas the unvarying tendency of our policy has been, by converting the domestic customers of our farmers into rivals, to increase production, even while our foreign markets, as in the case of grain, were diminishing. A view of the quantity and amount of cotton and flour exported in different years, will shed strong light on this doctrine.

COTTON.

		lbs.		Dollars.
1819	Exported	87,997,045	Proceeds	21,081,069
1820		127,860,152		22,308,607
1821		121,893,405		20,157,484
1822		144,675,095		24,035,058
1823		173,723,270		20,445,520
1824		142,389,683		21,947,401
1825		176,450,357	(a bubble)	36,846,649
1826		204,534,915		25,025,214
1827		294,310,115		29,359,545
1828		210,590,463		22,487,229

FLOUR

		Barrels.		Dollars.
1819	Exported	750,660	Proceeds	6,005,280
1820		1,117,036		5,296,664
1821		1,056,119		4,298,043
1822		827,865		5,103,280
1823		756,702		4,962,373
1824		996,792		5,759,176
1825		813,906		4,212,127
1827		868,494		4,420,051
1828		860,809		4,293,669

The early settlers in Maryland and Virginia, finding the foreign markets ruinously glutted by their great staple, tobacco, adopted the Dutch policy, and passed acts suspending the culture for a limited time.

"No remedy had been found for the low price of the staple [of Virginia] which had been so long and so feelingly deplored." "To enhance, if possible, the price of a commodity, on which the existence of the colony depend-

this destructive policy, Alexander Hamilton,* one of the greatest practical political economists that ever lived, Dr. Franklin,† and Thomas Jefferson,‡ two of our greatest statesmen, have borne the most decided testimony, but in vain. Every attempt to introduce a sounder policy is resisted with as much zeal and ardour, as if the change were fraught with destruction—and, strange to tell, by those who are the greatest sufferers by the present system!!!

It may seem extraordinary that I believe, nevertheless, that certain descriptions of farmers might advantageously immigrate into the United States. It is, however, the fact, as I shall endeavour to make appear.

A few skilful farmers, without any capital, but possessed of good characters, and bringing with them such recommendations as would ensure confidence, might derive great advantage from immigration into the United States. Such men in Great Britain and Ireland, can scarcely hope to emerge beyond the situation of day labourers, at the rate of 8*s.* 6*d.*, 9*s.* or 10*s.*§ per week, and have no prospect for sickness or old age but the poor-house:‖ whereas, in the neighbourhood of our cities, per-

ed, *the Assembly prohibited the growth of tobacco for a limited time.*" "The same inconvenience being at length probably felt in Maryland, *a law was passed in* 1666, *to enforce a similar project.*"—Chalmers's Annals, p. 314.

* "If Europe will not take from us the products of our soil, upon terms consistent with our interest, *the natural remedy is to contract, as fast as possible, our wants of her.*"—Alexander Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, page 40.

† "Foreign luxuries, and needless manufactures, imported and used in a nation, *increase the people of the nation that furnishes them*, and *diminish the people of the nation that uses them.*"—Franklin's Works, vol. iv. p. 189.

‡ "Where a nation imposes high duties on our productions, *or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for us to do the same with theirs—first burdening or excluding those productions which they bring here in competition with our own of the same kind; and selecting next, such manufactures as we take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time we could the soonest furnish to ourselves*, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties light at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open."—*Jefferson's Report on the Privileges and Restrictions of the Commerce of the United States in Foreign Countries.*

§ It appears by a recent publication, "A History and Review of the late Session of the British Parliament," that the wages of country labourers in Dorsetshire, are only 7*s.* per week, equal to one dollar and fifty-six cents.

‖ From a late Morning Herald the following statement is taken of the wages and expenditure of an English labouring agriculturist:—

sons of this description can readily procure contracts for the cultivation of farms from 40 to 80 or 100 acres on the shares, on the following plan. The owner of the land furnishes half the seed, the implements, and oxen; the farmer half the seed and labour. The proceeds are equally divided between them; and though the farmer's share is moderate, still the situation of the immigrant would be greatly improved, and by steady industry and economy, he might make handsome savings, and finally become an independent landholder.

Another class of farmers would find immigration into the United States highly advantageous. I mean those possessed of small capitals, say from 200 to 1000 pounds sterling. What with rent, excise, tithes, and taxes, (poor rates are added in England,) such men can barely subsist in Great Britain or Ireland. Let me state their prospects in the United States.

Good farms, with valuable improvements, a dwelling house, barn, and spring house on each, may be purchased, at 20 or 30 miles from Philadelphia, for 30 or 40 dollars per acre.*

At a greater distance from Philadelphia, say 40 or 50 miles, lands, with extensive improvements, may be purchased for 20 dollars per acre. In the interior of Pennsylvania and New York, uncleared lands, contiguous to navigable streams, may be purchased for two, three, and four dollars. The expense of clearing is about ten or eleven dollars per acre—and I am assured, on respectable authority, that the first crop of wheat after clearing will generally pay that expense. These lands hold out powerful encouragement to industrious and enterprising immi-

Earnings of a labourer in agriculture, at 9*s.* per week, per an.	£23	8	0
Expenditure of ditto.			
House rent	£4	0	0
Clothes for self and family	4	0	0
Fuel	2	10	0
Candles, soap, salt, &c. &c.	2	10	0
Bread for a family of six persons, at 6*s.* per week, per annum	15	12	0
	£28	12	0

The balance is made up by the contributions of the overseers of the poor.

* From the books of a Philadelphia agent for the sale of real estate, the following extracts are taken:—144 acres, in Bucks county, 32 miles from Philadelphia, with a large dwelling house, stables, wagon house, &c. at $32 per acre—100 acres, 35 miles from Philadelphia, with a stone dwelling house, stone kitchen, barn, &c. for $4000.—108 acres, 30 miles from Philadelphia, with a stone dwelling house, barn, &c. $4000.

These, it is to be observed, are the prices asked—from which, probably, a considerable abatement would be made.

grants. The great progress of the woollen manufacture renders the raising of sheep a lucrative business for farmers. The internal improvements in canals and roads effected and contemplated in nearly all the states, will secure extraordinary advantages to settlers contiguous to these means of communication. To farmers with large and industrious families, those sections of the country hold out every temptation—as they may carry on cultivation extensively with little hired labour.*

New lands, belonging to the United States, may be had in the western states and territories for 125 cents or 5*s.* 7½*d.* sterling, per acre, in perpetuity. Thus for one-half of the mere tithe per acre, paid in many parts of Great Britain and Ireland, lands may be purchased in fee simple. This appears to offer strong temptation; as complete independence may be secured at so very easy a rate. But I am much inclined to believe that few English, Irish, Scotch, or German farmers are well calculated to struggle with the difficulties attendant on making settlements in those remote quarters, where the population is so thinly scattered, and where the settlers are in some degree debarred from markets for their produce.

The following are the prices of stock in and near Philadelphia. Good working horses, from 50 to 90 dollars—cows, from 12 to 20 dollars. Fresh cows, with their calves, from 20 to 30 dollars. Oxen, in a lean state, sell for 3½ to 4 dollars per cwt. —fattened, from 4½ to 5 dollars.

In order to enable farmers to form an idea of what they have a right to expect by settling in this country, I will state the prices,† in the Philadelphia market, of various articles, some of

* Desirous to avoid giving countenance to error, or exciting undue expectations, likely to eventuate in disappointment, I judge it proper to state distinctly, that in the present depressed prices of farming produce, and the high rates of wages, it is scarcely possible, in the middle and eastern states, to farm profitably with hired labourers, wholly or chiefly, unless under particular advantages of soil and location.

† To facilitate the conversion of those prices into sterling money, I annex an exchange table.

1*d* sterling is equal at par to about	Cents 1.85	10*d*	Cents 18.50
2*d*	3.70	11*d*	20.36
3*d*	5.55	12*d*	22.22
4*d*	7.40	13*d*	24.5
5*d*	9.25	14*d*	25.92
6*d*	11.11	15*d*	27.76
7*d*	12.96	13½*d*	25.
8*d*	14.80	27*d*	50.
9*d*	16.65	40½*d*	75.
		54*d*	100.

which they will have to sell, and others to purchase, as extracted from the prices current of this year (1830).

Pork, per barrel	Dollars	11	00	a	11 50
Mess beef, do.		10	00	a	11 00
Dry codfish, per 100 lbs.		2	25	a	2 50
Flour, per barrel of 196 lbs.		4	50	a	5 00
Butter, including kegs, per lb.	Cents		8	a	9
Cheese, do. do.			5	a	8
Coffee, do. do.			11	a	13
Brown shirting, ¾ wide, per yard			5½	a	6
Do. do. 7-8 do. do.			7½	a	9
Do. do. bleached do.			8½	a	10
Chambrays			11	a	17
Sattinets			40	a	1 50
Molasses, West India, per gallon			25	a	30
Rye whiskey, per gallon			21	a	24
Apple whiskey, do.			27	a	28
Peach brandy, 1st proof			35	a	50
Muscovado sugar, 2d and 3d quality			7	a	10
Country tallow, per lb.			6½	a	9
Cider vinegar, per gallon			8	a	10
Wool, Merino, clean			33	a	38
Do. common			22	a	26

Engineers.

For a few perfectly competent engineers, this country affords very great encouragement. There is hardly a state in the union in which canals and rail-roads are not either commenced or contemplated.

Miners and Mineralogists.

For scientific persons of these descriptions, there is great scope in the United States. There is probably no country richer in mines and minerals; and a very small proportion of these boundless treasures has been explored.

I have just seen a tabular view of the number of localities of each mineral, in every state, and the total number in the United States, and think it advisable to enumerate some few of them—35 localities of agate—of alum, 29—of amethyst, 32—of native antimony, 2—of sulphuret of antimony, 15—of common asbestos, 38—of sulphate of barytes, 10—of carbonate of barytes, 45—of beryl, 32—of chalcedony, 57—of chlorite, 88—of coal, 69—of porcelain clay, 23—of potter's clay, 20—of native copper, 24—of sulphuret copper, 16—of pyritous copper, 29—of green carbonate, 24—of compact carbonate, 8—of feldspar, 109—of flint, 26—of common garnet, 80—of precious garnet, 8—of

graphite, 79—of hornblende, 75—of hornstone, 67—of native iron, 3—of arsenical iron, 5—of sulphuret of iron, 121—of hepatic iron, 9—of magnetic iron, 14—of magnetic oxide of iron, 57—of crystallized magnetic oxide of iron, 27—of native magnet, 10—of iron sand, 19—of specular oxide of iron, 28—of various other species of iron, 220—of jasper, 53—of sulphuret of lead, 85—of various other species, 15—of marble, 40—of lime, carbonate, 86—of lime, granular, 82—of lime, compact, 82—various other species of lime, 184—of sulphate of magnesia, 13—of oxide of manganese, 49—of mica, 76—of molybdena, 34—of nitre, 11—of novaculite, 18—of various species of quartz, 356—of schorl 83—of serpentine, 61—of slate, 123—of soda, 37—of talc, 74—of titanium, 75—of zeolite, 15—of zinc, 62—of sulphur, 27, &c. &c.*

Labourers.

There is scarcely any limit to the number of labourers, who are now and probably will be for twenty years to come, wanted in this country. The spirit of internal improvement, in canals, rail-roads, and turnpikes, is wide awake in every part of the union; and creates a great demand for that class, of which the number of native citizens bears no proportion to the demand. The Irish labourers are found uncommonly hardy and active, and for years have done a large portion of the work on canals and turnpikes. Their wages average about seventy-five cents per day, or four dollars and a half per week. Their board, which includes meat every day, and often twice a day, costs about two dollars, leaving a balance of about two dollars and a half, or 11*s.* 3*d.* sterling, which is far more than the whole of their earnings in their own country.

A statement of the price of provisions, will show the comfort which this class of our citizens may enjoy. In the Philadelphia market at this time, beef costs ten cents per pound—mutton five cents—veal six to eight cents—a pair of large fowls thirty-seven to fifty cents—a turkey from fifty to seventy-five cents—bread, per lb. three cents.

The wages of country labourers are high—from 75 to 100 dollars per annum, exclusive of comfortable board and lodging.

Clerks and Shopkeepers.

To these classes the United States hold out no temptation. There is at all times a superabundance of them, far more than can find employment.

* Robertson's Catalogue of Minerals.

The learned Professions.

The ridiculous pride of too many of our citizens, which revolts at the idea of apprenticing their sons to trades, crowds the legal and medical professions with numbers far beyond the demands of the country. It therefore results that there is no temptation for lawyers or doctors to migrate to the United States. The same observation will apply to the clerical profession, except as regards the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, who are, in many of the States, slenderly provided with pastors.

Teachers.

For persons of this class, of the highest order, duly qualified, there is a demand—but it is a demand easily satisfied, and the market is soon overstocked.

Gentlemen of Fortune.

To mere men of pleasure, the *fruges consumere nati* of society, America holds out no attractions as a permanent residence. The great capitals of Europe are the proper elements for this class. Amusements in every shape and form court them there. As travellers, however, the country is well worth their careful scrutiny, which will present views of society in some important points different from those to which they have been accustomed.

Manufacturers and Mechanics.

Although our government has not extended to manufactures the protection which has been found necessary to bring them to the flourishing state in which they appear in England, Scotland, France, many parts of Germany, and other countries in Europe, and that therefore a lamentable destruction took place among manufacturers in 1817, 18, 19, and 20, whereby probably three hundred millions of dollars* were sacrificed by the destruction of their establishments, and the consequent depreciation of real

* This sum will excite surprise and incredulity; but is far below the amount of the real loss to the nation. The cotton and woollen establishments, erected at enormous expense, depreciated in value from 75 to 80 per cent. on the average throughout the union; and real estate generally at least 33 per cent. The estimate of real estate in Pennsylvania in 1815, made by assessors sworn to the faithful performance of their duty, was $316,633,889, whereas in 1819 it was estimated by the assessors, at a depreciation of one-third, or about $210,000,000. The depreciation in other states was generally in the same proportion.

estate generally throughout the union, to say nothing of the annual loss from that period: yet the native energies of our citizens have overcome the difficulties interposed in their way—and many of our manufactures, particularly the cotton and woollen, are daily striking deeper root. But unfortunately, in consequence of the great numbers crowding into them, for want of adequate avenues for the employment of time, talents, capital, and industry, they bid fair to be overdone, and at no distant day. On a full view of the subject, and the most deliberate reflection, I feel satisfied, therefore, that while the present policy of our government continues, there is not much temptation for manufacturers generally to remove to this country. They are created fast enough here.

However, there is a considerable opening for mechanics of almost every description, carpenters, masons, smiths, plasterers, &c. And should the government ever adequately consult the interests of agriculture, and take decisive measures to make a domestic market for the raw materials and provisions of our farmers, by proper encouragement to manufactures, there will be abundant room in the United States for all the manufacturers and farmers that Europe can spare. The policy of this course is so plain and clear, that it can scarcely be doubted that it will be adopted at no distant day.

Journeymen's wages in Philadelphia vary from three quarters of a dollar to a dollar and a half per day. Probably one dollar and an eighth, or 5*s*. sterling, is about the average.

It may be laid down as a general rule, with few exceptions, that frugal, industrious journeymen, unencumbered with families, may save so much of their wages, as, in a few years, to be enabled to commence business on their own account on a moderate scale. The exceptions to this rule are exclusively confined to trades or occupations that require large establishments; and even in these the object is generally attainable ultimately—only requiring a longer period of industry and economy. I believe I am perfectly warranted in saying, that one-half, or certainly one-third at least of all the master mechanics and manufacturers in the United States, many of whom are now worth 20, 30, 40, or 50,000 dollars, were originally journeymen. This is among the most auspicious features in the character of American society. Let me add, that there is probably not a single

person in Philadelphia or New York, beyond the condition of a mere pauper, who cannot afford to eat flesh meat at least once a day*—and that a wood-sawyer or common porter, steadily employed, might, by frugality, save from fifty to one hundred dollars per annum.

A Brief View of the Policy of the Founders of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, as regards Liberty of Conscience. Read before the American Philosophical Society, Nov. 7, 1828.

At an anniversary celebration in Salem, some weeks since, the following toast was drunk:

"The intrepid assertors of Liberty of Conscience—Roger Williams in 1635—John Milton in 1659—William Penn in 1681—John Locke in 1689—may the series never end."

On this toast I wish to offer a few observations, which I shall confine to the two American philanthropists, omitting, as irrelevant to my purpose, Locke and Milton.

Nothing can be more just—nothing more richly deserved, than the praises thus bestowed on those two illustrious men, Williams and Penn, who towered pre-eminently over the prejudices of the age in which they lived, and had the good sense to discover, and the justice and honesty to act on the conviction, that any attempt to restrain or control the religious opinions or religious practices of their fellow mortals, provided they did not violate the public peace, or the rights of others, was a direct invasion of the prerogative of the Almighty, and the exer-

* On reflection, this requires some qualification. In consequence of great competition, and the various employments from which women are debarred by the importation of threads, laces, gloves, &c. &c., and by the inroads made by males on employments for which females are peculiarly qualified, female labour, such as making shirts, vests, and pantaloons, spinning, &c. &c., is reduced so low, that they cannot earn, with great industry, more than from a dollar to a dollar and a half per week. There are probably few greater evils in society than the degraded rate of female labour. The same exertion that is necessary for a woman to earn a dollar and a half per week, would suffice to earn for a man five, six, or seven dollars! This is a great discouragement to matrimony, and an equally great promoter of licentiousness in the lower classes of society—a natural consequence of checks to marriage.

cise of a most unwarrantable tyranny over conscience, as useless as it was absurd and wicked.

It is, however, to be regretted, that in the honourable commemoration of these two benefactors of mankind, the name of one who stands at least on equal ground with either, and preceded the settlement of Pennsylvania, by nearly half a century, is wholly omitted. I cannot for a moment allow myself to believe that the omission was other than the result of inadvertence. The high standing and respectability of the parties who conducted the celebration, forbid the supposition that it was a wilful one. But it is nevertheless "passing strange," that in the enumeration, the name of a man who made such a distinguished figure among the founders of the British Colonies, as Lord Baltimore, should have been wholly overlooked.

This nobleman founded the colony of Maryland on as broad and noble a basis of religious liberty to Christians of all denominations, without exception, as Roger Williams or William Penn. His settlement took place in 1632, about twelve years before William Penn was born, and four years before Roger Williams settled in Providence.

At this period, there is reason to believe, that no government in the world, great or small, had made any advances towards liberty of conscience, or even to toleration. Religious persecution, one of the foulest blots on the human character, was the order of the day, throughout Europe. In a great part of that quarter of the globe, and among some of the most celebrated of the reformers, at an earlier period, the idea of a general liberty of conscience was regarded as a pestilent heresy, as a sowing of tares in the garden of Christ. The doctrine was disclaimed with as much earnestness as if it were an odious blasphemy. Among the charges against Roger Williams, in Massachusetts, for which he was about to be seized and sent to England, was his preaching this doctrine. He escaped deportation by flight to Rhode Island in 1636.

The omission of the name of Lord Baltimore is the more to be regretted, as many well-meaning, but ignorant men believe, not only that persecution is a characteristic feature of the Catholic religion, but, contrary to the uniform tenor of the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that Protestants have never been dishonoured by this foul crime, than which nothing can be much more erroneous.

From the preceding statement, it appears, that the settlement

of Rhode Island was nearly cotemporaneous with that of Maryland; that the founders of both were a century or two in advance of the age; that neither of them can be supposed to have borrowed his system from the other; that in all future celebrations, they ought to be brought forward prominently together; and that without at all derogating from the honour of that great and good man, William Penn, they both preceded him, as I have stated, nearly half a century. Penn's Charter secured unbounded liberty of conscience to all persons who "confessed and acknowledged the one Almighty and Eternal God, to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world."

The merit of Calvert is greatly enhanced by the contrast between his system and that of Virginia and New England. In the former colony, the Protestant Episcopalian religion was established—in the latter, the Congregational. The Episcopalians persecuted the Congregationalists and all other denominations but their own, in Virginia*—and the Congregationalists persecuted the Episcopalians in New England. Maryland, the only Catholic colony in the country, afforded an asylum to the persecuted religionists of both descriptions, and indeed of all other descriptions.†

For the honour of human nature, it were to be wished that a veil could be drawn over the residue of the proceedings in this case—as they are foul and dishonourable. Some time after the

* "The first settlers in this country [Virginia] were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions. Possessed as they became of the power of making, administering and executing the laws, *they showed equal intolerance in this country, with their Presbyterian brethren who had emigrated to the northern government.* The poor Quakers were flying from persecution in England. They cast their eyes on these new countries, as asylums of civil and religious freedom—but they found them free only for the reigning sect. Several acts of the Virginia assembly of 1659, 1662, and 1693, had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized; had prohibited the unlawful assembling of Quakers; had made it penal for any master of a vessel, to bring a Quaker into the state; had ordered those already here, and such as should come hereafter, to be imprisoned till they should abjure the country; provided a milder punishment for their first and second return—but DEATH FOR THE THIRD." Jefferson's Notes on Va. article religion.

† "*This liberty* [*of conscience*] *which was never in the least instance violated,* encouraged a great number, not only of the Church of England, but of Presbyterians, Quakers, and all kinds of dissenters, to settle in Maryland." Burke's Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. 1, page 264.

Revolution of 1688, the Protestant and Presbyterian members of assembly in Maryland, acting in concert, with a degree of ingratitude which every honourable man must regard with abhorrence, passed the whole body of the barbarous and piratical penal laws against the Catholics, which were in force in England, by which the Catholics were not only deprived of their seats in the legislature, and disqualified therefrom in future, but subject to a severe persecution. History in the odious details of human turpitude, presents nothing much more revolting.*

The spirit of persecution extended itself to Carolina, where intolerant laws were passed by the Episcopalians, who possessed the powers of the government, and excluded from the legislature all denominations but their own.†

It has been asserted by Chalmers in his Political Annals, and Holmes in his American Annals, that the tolerant spirit of Rhode Island was disgraced by the proscription of the Roman Catholics in 1649. This, I am gratified to say, appears to be an error; as in an elaborate investigation that took place in the year 1819, no trace could be found of such a law in the records of the Colony.‡

* "When, upon the revolution, power changed hands in that province, *the new men made but an indifferent requital for the liberties and indulgences they had enjoyed under the old administration. They not only deprived the Roman Catholics of all share in the government, but of all the rights of freemen.* They have even adopted the whole body of the penal laws of England against them. They are at this day [1770], meditating new laws in the same spirit, and they would undoubtedly go to the greatest lengths in this respect, if the moderation and good sense of the government in England, did not set some bounds to their bigotry." Idem, page 267.

† "The assembly meeting in Carolina, a Bill, in express violation of the fundamental Constitution, was passed, for the more effectual preservation of the government, *requiring all persons elected members of the commons house of assembly, to conform to the Church of England, and receive the sacrament, according to the rites and usage of that church. Thus all dissenters were disqualified, though legally elected, from sitting in the assembly*, and the candidate who had the next majority of votes, was to be admitted, &c. &c. The dissenters were without redress—and, to complete their grievances, a bill was signed by the governor and deputies, for establishing religious worship in this province, according to the church of England, and for erecting churches for the worship of God, and also for the maintenance of ministers, and building convenient houses for them. In consequence of this act, many oppressive things were done by the government of Carolina against the dissenters." Idem, vol. 2, page 265.

‡ See this subject fully and ably discussed in the appendix to Walsh's Appeal.

It appears that in 1676, previous to the settlement of Pennsylvania, the proprietors of New Jersey passed a code of fundamental laws, or perhaps rather a Bill of Rights, which went beyond the charter of Maryland; as that limited liberty of conscience to the professors of the Christian religion; whereas the Bill of Rights in question, made no distinction between Christians, Jews, or Mahometans. I annex the clause which embraces this subject:

"That no men, nor number of men upon earth have power or authority to rule over men's consciences in religious matters: therefore it is consented, agreed, and ordained, that no person or persons whatsoever, within the said province, at any time or times hereafter, shall be any ways, upon any pretence whatsoever, called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, either in person, estate, or privilege, for the sake of his opinion, judgment, faith, or worship, towards God in matters of religion. But that all and every such person and persons may from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their judgments and the exercise of their consciences in matters of religious worship throughout all the said province."

Among the numerous signers of this admirable document, stands, the honoured name of William Penn.

It is scarcely credible, but nevertheless true, that so late as 1753, the Legislature of Virginia passed an act declaring that popish recusants (that is, Catholics who would not abjure their religion,) should be incapable of *being witnesses in any case whatever;* that they should not keep arms in their houses, under a penalty of forfeiture, and three months' imprisonment; that persons who knew of their keeping arms, and did not discover them, should be subject to the same imprisonment; that they should not keep a horse above five pounds value, under penalty of forfeiture; and finally, that persons aiding Catholics to conceal horses above that value, should be liable to three months' imprisonment.

Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1828.

From the Port Folio.

HORACE.

THERE is hardly an author of Greece or Rome, whose opinions are more generally correct, than those of Horace—none, of the poets at least, who furnishes more sound and just maxims for the regulation of human life. But notwithstanding this general soundness of opinion, there are errors, and some of them of considerable magnitude, to be found in his writings. Among those errors, I have always regarded the opinion intended to be conveyed in the following lines:—

> Fortes creantur fortibus. Et bonis
> Est in juvencis, est in equis, patrum
> Virtus. Nec imbellem feroces
> Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Which Francis renders thus:—

> "The brave and good are copies of their kind.
> In steers laborious, and in generous steeds
> We trace their sires. Nor can the bird of Jove,
> Intrepid, fierce, beget th' unwarlike dove."

Horace here intimates that illustrious sons may as surely be expected from illustrious sires, as that the "fierce, intrepid" eagle shall not produce the "unwarlike dove," or that the "generous steed" shall perpetuate an equally "generous race." At the first glance the philosophy of this appears somewhat plausible. But it will not stand the test of even a moderate degree of examination. To its unsoundness the aching hearts of many parents, who contemplate the degeneracy of their children, bear ample testimony. Let us look through the world, and we shall immediately see numberless instances, in full proof, that neither the virtues of the parental head or heart are entailed upon the children. There is hardly a street in our cities that does not evince this truth, and furnish instances which the reader will recollect, and which it would be invidious to enumerate.

History is full of similar cases. The cruel, the dastardly, the narrow-minded Philip II., was son of the daring, the courageous, the aspiring Charles V., the arbiter of the fate of Europe. The mild, the unaspiring, the estimable Richard Cromwell had not a single trait of the character of his hypocritical, enthusiastic, and ambitious father, Oliver. And not to swell the subject too far, who would ever recognise any affinity between the awkward, the unpolished, the mediocre Stanhope, and the dissembling, refined, and enlightened Chesterfield?

Philadelphia, January, 1810.

Essays on the Public Charities of Philadelphia, intended to vindicate the Benevolent Societies of this City from the Charge of encouraging Idleness, and to place in strong Relief, before an enlightened Public, the Sufferings and Oppression under which the greater part of the Females labour, who depend on their industry for a support for themselves and Children.

"Street beggars are not proper objects of your bounty. *Garrets, cellars, and such like places, exhibit spectacles far more affecting:* there the wretched inhabitants are found, either *exerting the last efforts of nature to support themselves amidst the frowns of adversity, or languishing under the painful influence of some disease*—and destitute of every means; and, to complete their distress, often strangers in the place, and on that account cut off from the last refuge of the afflicted—the hope of being relieved; and unhappily many of them without the comforts of that religion, which, penetrating the gloom of human wretchedness, opens a bright prospect into another and a better world!"—*Feltus.*

"Among the chief objects of the benevolent, is the relief of the fatherless and the widow—of her who has lost her dearest friend, and of those who are deprived of their best earthly guardian. If suffering ever has claims on our sympathy, it is when presented under such circumstances. There are those who, from principle, as they say, refuse assistance to the man who can obtain the means of supplying all his wants by his daily labour. But can they withhold relief from her who comes in her desolation and weakness—*woman, who, by the law of her being, is excluded from paths in which coarser man may make a livelihood;* and, by the custom of society, is OBLIGED TO ACCEPT LESS THAN HALF OF WHAT THE MOST STUPID OF THE OTHER SEX CAN EARN, *as a compensation for her unremitted toil?* The widow! Shall I attempt to depict her grief? He who was her friend, her adviser, her solace, her reliance, is taken from her; he with whom she shared her hopes and fears, her anxieties and joys, the intimate and inmate of her bosom, in whose life her own seemed to be involved, has been removed; his body is in the dark grave; his soul in the unseen, unknown world. * * * FATHERLESS, HELPLESS CHILDREN ARE DEPENDENT ON HER. *They must be fed, and she has not a morsel to put in their hungry mouths,* nor a garment in which to wrap their shivering limbs.

"I mock you not with a tale of imaginary distress. I tell you of suffering which I have known to exist in this city. It is not fiction which describes a *mother wasted to the bone by watching* and fatigue, over the sick bed of her husband; and left, after his death, heart-broken and pennyless, with *little children crying to her for bread, she knows not how to get, but from charity or by theft.*"—GANNET.

PREFACE.

This pamphlet is now presented to the public for a fifth time, and in an improved state.* The opinions of some of the most estimable members of society, of the highest order of intellect, and of the purest hearts, induce me to believe, that in pleading the cause of a valuable and industrious class of females—in placing their wrongs and sufferings before a humane and enlightened community, if I have not succeeded to the extent of my wishes, I have not been wholly unsuccessful; that I have fully satisfied those who have hearts to feel for human misery, and who have duly weighed the subject, of the utter fallacy of the heartless, withering slang, which charges the wretchedness and sufferings of the poor to their improvidence, worthlessness, and dissipation; that the shamefully reduced rate of female wages in general, is the parent of a large portion of that wretchedness and those sufferings; and that it places those females who depend on their needles, and live in their own apartments, in a situation almost too trying for human nature, with five choices—*to beg—to depend on the overseers of the poor, a species of begging—to steal—to starve—or to sell themselves to pollution* —to misery and disease here, and perhaps to misery hereafter. Scepticism itself can scarcely entertain a shadow of doubt on the subject, when it is considered that neither skill, talent, nor industry, can enable those poor creatures to earn more than a dollar, a dollar and a quarter, or perhaps one out of ten or twenty, a dollar and a half per week, even if fully employed; that a considerable portion of their time they are unemployed; that they generally pay half a dollar per week for their lodgings; that they purchase wood by the small bundle, at the rate, probably, of twelve or fifteen dollars a cord, and all other articles they consume at most exorbitant prices. These are harrowing truths, which cannot be too often repeated, until a remedy, or at least some palliation, is applied.

I have, moreover, I hope, established the fallacy of the idea,

* The three first editions of this pamphlet were printed and distributed gratuitously by the author. The fourth edition of 1000 copies, was published partly at his expense, but chiefly at that of some ladies and gentlemen, who have honoured the little work with their approbation, and are desirous of promoting the objects to which it is devoted.

that benevolent and assistance societies foster idleness and improvidence, by inducing a reliance on their aid, instead of industry and application. This is, I repeat, in the most earnest manner, a pernicious error, and productive of masses of misery to the poor, by searing the hearts of the opulent, of whom many do not require any such plea to induce them to withhold from the poor that degree of aid and comfort which their boundless means would enable them to afford, and to which humanity may fairly lay claim. From the view I have given of the wages of various kinds of female labour, it is obvious that the aid of those societies, judiciously extended, cannot fail to be frequently imperiously necessary, and eminently beneficial, and in numerous instances to rescue individuals of delicate and praiseworthy feelings, from becoming dependent on the overseers of the poor, and thus a public burden.

It has been confidently, but most erroneously asserted, that the expenditure, in this city, for the support of the poor, as well by individuals and charitable societies, as by the guardians, is $600,000 a year. This has excited a spirit of hostility against those societies, among many of our citizens, and a murmuring at what they regard as an enormous abuse. Few greater errors have ever had currency. The poor tax, under its worst management, and nothing could well be worse than it has been prior to the new arrangement, has generally averaged about $125,000 per annum, no small portion of which arose from the wretchedness created by the miserable wages paid for female labour. The total receipts of the thirty-three societies, enumerated in a subsequent page, were, in the year 1828, only $59,000, of which at least $20,000 consisted of large bequests and donations, which were invested as capital stock, and of course were unexpended. Thus the actual expenditure was reduced to less than 40,000 dollars, for all those societies; for the support of infant schools, and education generally; for the support of orphan houses; for the widows' asylum, the asylum for the deaf and dumb, and for the Magdalens; for the house of refuge; for the abolition of slavery; for colonization; and for purchasing food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, and clothes for the naked, exclusive of the government and county contributions to the house of refuge, and the institution for the deaf and dumb. I am persuaded that the disbursements of all the other societies, of every description, benevolent, moral, and religious, would not amount to half as much more.

To prove the advantages resulting from benevolent societies, and thus to induce the wealthy, who have hearts to feel for human misery, to afford them liberal aid, and enable them to widely extend the sphere of their humane operations, I will state the effects of the benignant interference of some of the ladies of one of those societies.

The family of M'Giffie, whose case is subsequently stated, were actually suffering for want of the common necessaries of life, when their case became known to those excellent women. The father was emaciated—the mother lying in a state of insensibility—one child was dead—and the other dying! At this crisis, the humane interference took place of the ladies in question, by whom necessaries were supplied in abundance—a bed was given to replace the straw, on which the woman lay—a stove was hired for the use of the family, fuel provided, &c. In consequence of the administration of proper nutriment, the physical powers of the parents were renovated; and the sympathy and compassion expressed for their sufferings, raised their spirits, and enabled them to look forward to the future with hope and confidence. When the man recovered, money was raised to pay for a loom. He diligently sought for, and fortunately found employment. I visited their room lately, and found them cheerful, happy, industrious, and likely to continue useful members of society. But for the succour so opportunely afforded, they would have languished—perhaps died. What balm and consolation must their god-like interference, and its delightful result afford to those ladies! Whenever it recurs to recollection, but more particularly at the hour of death, when this world with all its fugitive enjoyments will fade from before their eyes, what a contrast to the dying reflections of the victim of sordid avarice, who hoards up his treasures to the last hour of his existence; or to those of the voluptuary, who spends his fortune in sensual gratifications! How freely would these persons then part with boundless wealth to purchase such delightful reminiscences!

It may be said—it is frequently said—that among the poor there are depraved and worthless characters, whose intemperance and vices have been the causes of their sufferings, and who therefore are unworthy of sympathy or relief. The first part of the position is true, but the inference is unwarranted, and unworthy of human nature. At all events, the accusation is unjust, as regards the mass of the poor; but suppose it were

correct, does it follow, that it is justifiable to turn a deaf ear or to harden the heart to the sufferings of poor fellow mortals, in want of food to satisfy the cravings of hunger, or of clothing to screen their shivering limbs from the inclemency of the weather, because their distress may have resulted from imprudence, or even from vice? I believe not. I believe that humanity and religion both prescribe a totally different course. We are all offenders, in a greater or less degree, and have no right to hope for mercy, if we extend it not to others.—

"That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me,"—

is a sound prayer, and implies a just condition. The good Samaritan, who is correctly held up to us as a model for imitation, did not, when he found the poor traveller wounded, and perhaps dying, stop to inquire how he came by his wounds; whether they were received in a drunken frolic, in an assault and battery, or in an attempt to rob or murder. He did not, like the Priest and the Levite, "pass by on the other side." No. Far otherwise did he behave, and far otherwise should we all behave. He saw a fellow-being suffering. That was enough for him. He asked himself, "Am I not a man and a brother?" And the affirmative answer determined his conduct. He cheered him with sympathy and consolation, poured balm into his wounds, and left money on his departure to procure proper attendance, and to restore him to his family and to society, whatever might have led to his calamitous situation.

"Alas! alas!
Why all the souls that were, were forfeit once,
And he that might the 'vantage best have took,
Found out the remedy. How would you be,
If HE, which is the top of judgment, should
But judge you as you are? O think of that,
And mercy then will breathe upon your lips,
Like man new made."—*Shakspeare.*

I have recently myself visited some of the abodes of wretchedness, in order to view with my own eyes, and to be able to state with precision, the situation of some of the hapless beings whose cause I am feebly, but to the best of my ability, pleading at the bar of a flourishing and benevolent community.

I visited a room in Shippen street, near where the M'Giffies live, which contained no furniture, but a miserable bed, covered with a pair of ragged blankets. Three small chunks lay on the

hearth. The day was intensely cold. The occupant, a woman, far too slenderly clad, had two children, one about five years old, the other about fifteen months. Both were inadequately dressed for the season, and were *destitute of shoes and stockings. The younger child had had its hands and feet severely frost-bitten, and the inside of the fingers so much cracked with the frost, that a small blade of straw might lie in the fissures!*—What a hideous case in such a city as Philadelphia!

In this pursuit I met with various scenes of the most distressing kind, and some of them scarcely credible. The following is so very extraordinary, that I have been reluctant to narrate it. In a small frame house, painted blue, on the east side of Eleventh street, the corner of an alley below Pine street, there is a room fifteen feet long, and eleven feet wide, in which there are three beds close together. When I visited it, there were two women at work, one spooling and the other spinning. If they had constant employment, they could earn each only twenty or twenty-five cents a day—but work came in very irregularly. Notwithstanding their distressed situation, they were cheerful and resigned. The husband of the one, though sickly, could work a little, if he could procure employment. But he and the other man, who was as strong as a Hercules, had been out of employment for weeks. The two families had four children. I have been particular in describing the locality of these families, to afford to those gentlemen who are in the habit of displaying their eloquence in declaiming against, and railing at, benevolent societies, and at the idleness and worthlessness of the poor, a fair opportunity of examining for themselves, and testing as well the justice as the humanity of their never-ending tirades, and of showing them the necessity of choosing some other topic for their oratory.

In another room, in a different house, I found a man, his wife, and four children. The man had been long ill, and was in the last stage of a consumption. One of the children was an infant. The woman took in washing and rough drying, at twenty-five cents per dozen—and partly from the irregularity and uncertainty of employment, and partly from attention to her children, did not earn more than seventy-five cents or a dollar per week.

In another room I found a man and his wife, who were unable to pay rent, and were allowed to lodge with a relation nearly as poor as themselves. The man had broke a blood vessel many months since, and was unable to work at his trade. His

wife earned a paltry pittance by shoe binding. They had one child—and were obliged to limit themselves to two meals a day.

I met with a woman, who, in the month of February, had lain in, and had been a week without the comfort of a fire.

A very respectable foreigner, whom tyranny forced to fly from his country, is, with his wife, lodged in a miserable hovel, in a blind alley, and thankfully partook of the soup furnished by the Southwark society. They are absolutely pennyless.

I forbear to detail any more horrors, and deeply regret to state that there are numerous cases of as intense suffering in Southwark, as can be found in any other part of the world. This is an unpalatable truth—but it must be told, to arouse our wealthy citizens from the error which many of them labour under, on this very important subject. Let those who doubt, call on me, and I will exhibit the scenes, particularly the one in Eleventh street.

Here I take the liberty to introduce an extract from a letter I received from the Rev. Mr. Ely, which contains a startling, but indubitable truth.

"From intimate acquaintance with many of the industrious poor, for eighteen years past, both in New York and in this city, I am constrained to say, that your remarks concerning the inadequate payment which females receive for their labour, are just, and ought deeply to affect every benevolent person, who has any wish to do justly, and see honest industry suitably rewarded. *A common slave in the States of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, is much better compensated for his labour, by his necessary food, clothing, lodging, and medicines, than many respectable mothers and daughters in this city, who apply themselves diligently to their work, two hours for every one occupied by the negro in his master's service.* Your remarks will apply to the folding and stitching of books, to the sewing of carpet rags, to the binding of shoes, * * * no less than to the work done for the army and navy."

I have endeavoured to prove in various parts of this pamphlet, that the industry, morals, and virtue of the poor, are underrated. A striking instance of the industry of the female portion of them, is afforded by the fact, that on Tuesday last, there were eleven hundred applicants seeking for employment at the apartment of the Provident Society, in making shirts at 12½ cents each, although it was known none could have more than four, and few more than two per week, at 12½ cents each. Many of them had travelled six, eight, and ten squares, and some of them from Kensington, a distance of two miles, for this most miserable employment. This bears the most overwhelm-

ing testimony to their intense distress, and their untiring industry.

Of the prevailing poverty and distress, and the necessity of affording occasional aid beyond what is had from the guardians or overseers of the poor, there are various other unerring indications to be met with, which cannot fail to strike the most careless and inconsiderate observer. I have now before me an indication of this description, which must excite the most harrowing reflections, when the mass of wretchedness to which it owes its existence, is considered. In New York, by a wise regulation of the police, the pawnbrokers are bound to furnish weekly to a particular officer, the number and description of the pledges they receive. The return of the week ending the 29th of December, 1828, contains the following enumeration:—

Articles of women's dress - - -	945
Articles of men's dress - - - -	825
Clocks, time pieces, and watches, - -	240
Gold watches - - - - - -	45
Table and tea spoons, silver - - -	235
Ear and finger rings, chains and brooches	224
Bibles - - - - - - - -	9
Other articles, not enumerated above -	966
Total - -	3489

The writer who published this statement, supposes this a fair average of the year; and assumes that the average sum lent on each article, is about three dollars, which would make a total of 180,000 pledges, and of loans to the amount of $540,000 on which he calculates a profit of 25 per cent, or $135,000, wrung from the sweat of the brows of the indigent! As if this were not enough, it may be fairly assumed, that the articles in general cost at least 50 per cent. more than is advanced on them. This amounts to the enormous sum of 7 or $800,000 worth of property alienated in the course of a year!!! as few of the unfortunate people who deposite those pledges are able to redeem them, and they are in general most lamentably sacrificed at auction.

Should it be said that this statement refers to New York, I reply that there cannot be a doubt, that if a similar regulation prevailed here, a similar, or a nearly similar result would appear.

Since the above was written, I have received a statement from New York, by which it appears, that during the last year,

there were 148,890 articles pawned by 71,576 persons—and, in addition, 6012 sales of second-hand articles, by persons licensed to carry on that traffic! Who can, without the deepest sympathy, contemplate the distress, the suffering, the anguish felt by those 71,000 persons before they resolved on such sacrifices?

There is one portion of the evils resulting from the present state of things, as regards the rate of wages, paid for most species of female labour, to which no attention is paid, but which is of a most serious character. Those women who have children, and are unable to procure food for them, frequently send them abroad to beg. They are generally repulsed. Hunger pinches them. They have no distinct notions of right or wrong. Their employment degrades and debases them. Temptation arises. An opportunity offers to filch and steal. They avail themselves of it, and it is not improbable that the career of wickedness, which leads so many to the penitentiary, may have commenced in this way, by petty thefts, produced by the goadings of hunger.

I beg the most pointed attention of the reader to the following letter from a respectable police magistrate in New York, which sheds a glare of light on this subject, and pourtrays in strong colours the pernicious consequences of the oppression and injustice under which these women labour.

"*New York, Jan.* 25, 1830.

"It is most undoubtedly true, that the compensation which poor women with small children obtain for their labour, is so scanty that the least interruption in their accustomed employment, occasions a corresponding diminution in their receipts, and they are at once (for they literally live from hand to mouth,) compelled to raise the means in some other way, and none so ready or convenient probably as to send some article of wearing apparel as a pledge for the sum required. Every casualty in such a family will subject them to a similar inconvenience, until every article in their possession has disappeared, and *they are left to starve, unless the hand of charity is extended for their relief.*

"The evils arising from the inadequate compensation given for most kinds of female labour, are by no means confined to their poverty. It is frequently the case, and my own experience enables me to speak with confidence, that women of this description are obliged to keep their children in the streets, either to beg, or by some light employment to earn a penny through the day; this leads to bad associations and frequently to crime. *Of the children brought before me for pilfering, nine out of ten are those whose fathers are dead, and who live with their mothers, and are employed in this way.* The petty plunder obtained in this way, finds a ready market at some old junk shop, and the avails are in part carried home as the earnings of honest labour.

"JOHN W. WYMAN."

We have gradually and imperceptibly slid into the practice of England, so far as regards a portion of the labouring poor. The chief difference is, that in that country it is reduced to system, whereas here it is perfectly arbitrary. When a manufacturer or farmer there is unable or unwilling to pay his workpeople as much as is necessary to support human nature, the overseer of the poor makes up the difference, and the working people regard this as a sort of indefeasible right. Here a seamstress, who works on muslin shirts, or pantaloons, or a spooler, can rarely earn enough to support herself; and if she do not steal or prostitute herself to make up the balance, it is made up by levying contributions on individual charity, or by benevolent societies. This is a state of things that makes an imperative appeal, I will not say to humanity or sympathy, but to honour, honesty, and justice. Every individual industriously employed, in a useful occupation, has an indisputable claim to healthful and comfortable support. Those who employ him or her, ought, in honour and justice, to yield that support; and when the remuneration is reduced below that standard, and advantage taken of their distress, or of the competition arising from an excess of numbers, it is flagrant injustice. I venture to assert, that the situation of a spooler, who receives the yarn wet, and is paid but fifteen or twenty cents per hundred skeins, is as deplorable as almost any of the most oppressed of the workpeople in any partof Europe.

For the observations I have made on the Provident Society, in No. III., I have been censured by some estimable managers of that society, for whom I entertain great respect. They consider them as unjust, and as likely to lower the character of the institution, to diminish its usefulness, and of course to injure the class whose cause I advocate. I have since thought deeply on the subject, and my mind remains unaltered. I believe that the society, with the liberal patronage under which it commenced its operations, ought to have paid a rate of wages, which would afford a decent subsistence, come what might of its income; and I cannot allow myself to believe, that there would have been any deficiency of funds for such a laudable purpose, on a proper appeal made by the respectable men who are at the head of this institution. Is it possible that such an appeal, in a cause that speaks so feelingly and powerfully to the human heart, could fail of success in a city where the sum of $9500 has been raised for the poor in about a week? Certainly

not. When the Female Hospitable Society, which, great as are its merits, never had such patronage engaged in its support, has been able to maintain itself for twenty years, and to pay never less than 18¾ cents for making coarse muslin shirts, it cannot, for a moment, be admitted that the Provident Society was obliged to limit the price to 12½ cents. In a plain common sense view of the subject, it would appear that the only questions of which it is susceptible, are, ought not the labour of every individual in society to enable him or her to procure food, and raiment, and lodging? If this be answered, as it must be, in the affirmative, the next question is, can a woman, with a helpless child or two, or even without them, procure those necessary articles for a dollar, or a dollar and a quarter per week? By the reply to these questions I stand or fall; and for that reply I throw myself, unhesitatingly, on the decision of an enlightened and humane public.

On another point I have met with equal censure—I mean the proposition to modify the new system of poor-laws, so as to admit of out-door relief in extraordinary cases of persons reduced from ease and opulence to poverty. The law passed by our legislature, most explicitly declares, that "from the completion of the new building, no out-door relief shall be afforded but *temporarily;*" and I repeat what I have already asserted, that there are probably from two to three hundred persons in this city, of the above description, who ought never to be placed with the alternative of either going to the alms-house, or being exposed to starvation. By proper management let it be observed, an out-door pensioner can be supported as cheaply as an inmate of an alms-house. And here I must beg leave to state a harrowing case, of late occurrence. A man who had a respectable establishment, for many years, and who always maintained a fair character, was gradually reduced, for several years past, to abject penury, without friend or relation, and was at last houseless and pennyless. In this lamentable situation, he went voluntarily into the alms-house, where he was so horrified at the abominations and corruption of the motley herd, by whom he was surrounded, that he refused sustenance, and actually starved himself to death. I forbear mentioning his name; but it may be had on application at my house.

I was well aware, when I commenced this pamphlet, that I should not escape censure. No man ever did escape, who endeavoured to remove evils, however palpable, or however salu-

tary the proposed reforms might be. How could I hope for an exemption? I am therefore not disappointed.

I am not without a hope, that the investigations to which this publication has led, and from which it is not unreasonable to hope for salutary results, will be undertaken elsewhere, and produce an important alleviation of the misery and wretchedness to which a useful, and I say emphatically, a respectable class of society, is every where exposed, whereby they are ground to the earth, without the most distant hope at present of ever emerging, unless a total alteration takes place. That the state of things which I have pourtrayed should have existed for years in an enlightened, moral, and religious community, can only be accounted for by a radical and pernicious prejudice on the subject with some, and a total ignorance on the part of others, not merely of the frightful extent, but of the existence of the evil. I cannot allow myself to believe, now that it is placed before the public, in the glare of day, in all its frightful deformity, that it will remain much longer, without serious efforts of influential individuals, if not wholly to remove, at least to mitigate or palliate the evil—to lessen the enormity of the suffering.

There is in London a "Society for bettering the condition of the Poor," which has been eminently beneficial to that too-much neglected class. The members visit the poor in their turns; administer advice and consolation; provide shops wherein they can purchase the necessaries of life at first cost; and in a variety of ways relieve their distresses; add to their comforts and happiness; and elevate them in their own estimation, from the abasement to which poverty is too apt to degrade its subjects. I annex a short extract from the prefatory address to their publications, written by the benevolent Thomas Bernard, Esq., the founder of the society:—

"The interests of the poorer classes of society are so interwoven with those of every part of the community, that there is no subject more deserving of general attention, nor any knowledge more entitled to the exalted name of science, than that in which their well-being is concerned; than that, the tendency of which is *to carry domestic comfort into the recesses of every habitation, and to add to the virtue and morality of a nation, by increasing its happiness.* The noblest and most elevated employments of the human mind lose their importance, when placed in competition with researches ON WHICH THE WELFARE AND GOOD CONDUCT OF MILLIONS MAY DEPEND, AND THE RESULT WHEREOF MAY ADD AS MUCH TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY, AS TO INDIVIDUAL HAPPINESS."

Such a society might effect incalculable good in this city, at a very moderate expense,* and would, perhaps, produce as much solid benefit as any other society whatsoever, as it would extend its surveillance and fostering cares to the great mass of the poor; whereas, the operations of other beneficent societies are, from the scantiness of their means, confined within very narrow limits. Among the objects of such a society, would be to teach the poor the most economical means of dressing their food; to furnish them with lime and brushes to whitewash their rooms; to induce them to send their children to school; to prevail on such of them as have the means, to deposite their earnings in the saving fund; and to provide supplies of the necessaries of life to be sold to the poor at wholesale rates, with merely such an advance as would keep the funds of the society unimpaired.†

In the city and liberties of Philadelphia, there are about 150,000 inhabitants, and, according to the usual proportion, about 25,000 houses. It may be assumed that two-fifths of those houses are occupied by persons in tolerably easy circumstances, who would generally be disposed, on proper application and correct information on the subject, to contribute two or three dollars per annum towards purposes of obvious utility or benevolence, such as the promotion of education, the support of the dispensaries, of the house of refuge, of the establishments for widows and orphans, of the Magdalen asylum, of the asylum for the deaf and dumb, or for the relief of the hungry and naked. To doubt this would be a reflection on the character of the city. If this assumption were realized, it would form an annual fund, of above $20,000, for great objects to which no man, possessed of a spark of grace or goodness, can be indifferent; a fund which would produce immense benefits, and mitigate masses of human misery. For all these purposes, the *annual subscriptions* for 1828, for the thirty-three societies enumerated in No. III., em-

* Let me respectfully suggest to the religious part of the community, that a tithe of the sums raised for foreign missions, would do infinite good, (I make no comparison, which I leave to the reader,) if employed for the purposes of bettering the condition and elevating the character of the poor at home.

† Since the above was written, a Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor has been formed in this city, and went into operation on the 1st of October, 1829, on the plan suggested. The subscription is ten dollars per annum. There are fifty subscribers—and the Rev. Thomas Allen has been appointed agent.

bracing nearly all of importance except those for religious purposes, were only about $6900, from our entire population of 150,000 persons; and, as I have stated, this sum was contributed by from 2000 to 2500 persons, who, of course, bore burdens which ought in justice and equity to have been borne by the whole community.

The disproportion in the contributions does not arise by any means from the parsimony or disinclination to contribute, of the mass of our citizens. They are not generally called on; or, if called on, sometimes under revolting circumstances. There are in society, I feel satisfied, hundreds of generous souls, who, when they read a fervid appeal from the managers of the asylums for the widows and orphans, or the institution for the deaf and dumb, or the house of refuge, &c., are ready and willing to patronize them; and if the opportunity offered just then, would cheerfully subscribe. They intend to suscribe, but they scarcely know where to apply; or they postpone it; or, in a short time, they wholly forget the subject. These are the causes why so few of our citizens contribute to those benevolent and beneficent institutions, which go far to redeem the human character from the foul stain of withering selfishness. This state of things calls for a remedy whereby burdens, the benefits of which are enjoyed by all, should be more equally distributed. I venture to propose a remedy, which, I flatter myself, would be very effectual, and for which I most earnestly implore the public favour.

Let a person of genteel and courteous manners be employed, and a book provided with as many divisions as there are societies, for which patronage is sought. Let him apply at every house, which, from its appearance, may be presumed to be occupied by a person likely to subscribe. Let it be distinctly understood, that, in order to equalize the honour of contribution, and leave the matter open as wide as possible, it is not expected that any individual should subscribe to a greater amount than two or three dollars, (except to the city dispensary, of which the subscription is five dollars,) for which he will of course select the institution which he most highly approves. Let the collector deposit the total amount he receives daily, in some bank, to the credit of trustees, to be appointed for the purpose, to be divided afterwards according to the respective subscriptions. I may, perhaps, be too sanguine; but I flatter myself that this plan, cordially and zealously patronized by thirty or

forty respectable individuals, entitled to and enjoying public confidence, could not fail of complete success.*

P. S. Shall I be pardoned for stating, that this pamphlet has cost me more time, labour, and expense, than articles four times the size—but that I feel myself amply compensated by the elevated views with which it has furnished me of the character of the ladies of Philadelphia, in the noble display of those humane and benevolent feelings that characterize the sex.

March 13, 1829.

POSTSCRIPT.

An address on the subject of the wages paid to the seamstresses employed on the government work, of which the following is a copy, was forwarded on the 13th of January to the Secretary of War:—

"The subscribers are convinced that an expert seamstress, unencumbered with a family of children, and working industriously from morning till night, cannot make more than two shirts per day,† (12½ cents each) equal to a dollar and a half a week; that many of those employed at this work, are widows with small families, who cannot do more on an average than seven, eight, or nine per week, according to the attention that their children may require; that they are frequently out of employment; and hence it is probable, that even those who have no families, cannot average more than the above number of shirts, seven, eight, or nine per week."

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* I regret to state that this plan, the success of which I so confidently anticipated, has been tried; and although earnestly recommended to the public by ninety-seven citizens of the highest respectability, has proved altogether an abortion—the whole sum raised having been only $276, and the whole number of subscribers only 137!! The person employed to solicit subscriptions was twenty-one days occupied in the work.

† The writer of this paper overrated the maximum quantity which the most expert woman can perform. From particular inquiry on the subject, the concurring opinions of a number of ladies, all of them qualified to decide the question, are, that no woman, however expert she may be, can make more than seven, eight, or nine per week, unless she works from five or six o'clock in the morning, till eleven at night; that the majority of them, working from sunrise till nine or ten o'clock, cannot do more than six or seven in a week. The error arose in this way. The officer of the government, who has the superintendance of the work, stated to me that some of the women executed two shirts per day, which I took for granted. But on further inquiry, I found that the women who were said to have made two shirts, had the aid of children. It is obvious that the question is not what a woman can do, aided by children, but what a woman can herself perform.

This address was signed by ninety-one ladies, among whom were Mrs. Chew, Mrs. Rush, Mrs. Sergeant, Mrs. Dr. Hare, Mrs. Sarah Barry, Mrs. Burd, Mrs. Markoe, Mrs. Izard, Mrs. Ball, Mrs. Miller, Mrs. G. Harrison, Mrs. Silver, Mrs. M'Clure, &c. &c.

To the preceding address the following representation was appended:—

The Honourable the Secretary of War.

"SIR,—We respectfully submit the annexed statement to your most serious consideration. But although we are perfectly satisfied that the wages paid by the government, for making muslin shirts, and pantaloons of drilling (12½ cents each) are utterly inadequate to enable the industrious females employed on them (particularly such as have families) to pay rent, and to procure a sufficient supply of clothing and the other necessaries of life; we do not presume to suggest what enhancement of prices ought to take place. We have full reliance on your humanity and justice, to take such order in the case, as will relieve this interesting portion of our population from the extreme distress produced by this low rate of wages, which too frequently reduces them to the degradation of pauperism, from which it is difficult to rise; a state of things, which, we are convinced, could never have existed under a liberal and flourishing government, had the officers, within whose province it took place, been aware of the calamitous result.

"We are, respectfully, yours," &c.

This paper was signed by one hundred and thirty-one respectable citizens, among whom were the Right Rev. Bishop White, Rev. W. Kemper, Robert Ralston, Alex. Henry, William Jones, Paul Beck, William Meredith, John Markoe, Benjamin Chew, Joseph Tagert, Nicholas Biddle, Thos. Latimer, Chas. M'Calaster, Esq's., &c. &c.

The following reply was received from the Secretary of War:—

"*Department of War, February* 2, 1829.

"GENTLEMEN,—Your letter of the 13th ult., representing that the compensation paid by the agents of the government to the indigent but meritorious females who are employed in making up the clothing of the army, is too small, and requesting that the prices be advanced, has been received and duly considered.

"The subject, however, is found to be one of so much delicacy, and is so intimately connected with the manufacturing interests, and the general prices of this kind of labour in the city of Philadelphia, that the Department has not felt itself at liberty to interfere farther than to address a letter to the Commissary General of Purchases, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

"P. B. PORTER.

"Messrs. MATHEW CAREY and others, Philadelphia."

"*Department of War, February* 2, 1829.

"SIR,—Communications, of which the enclosed are copies, signed by some fifty or sixty persons,* who, as far as their names are known to this Department, appear to be amongst the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia, have been received, complaining that the prices paid by you to the needy but industrious females whom you employ in making up clothes for the army, are too low—out of proportion to the compensation allowed to other branches of industry, and inadequate to their support.

"While the government highly commends the general spirit of economy and zealous regard to the public interest, displayed in your contracts, it cannot wish to *impose terms that shall operate oppressively on any class of its citizens, and more especially on widows and other meritorious females employed in its service.*

"The difficulty, however, of correctly appreciating, at this place, the merits of the several suggestions contained in the communications of those gentlemen, and a want of sufficient knowledge of the effects which would be produced by acceding to their requests, not only on the particular interests of the government, but on the prices of this species of labour generally throughout the large manufacturing city of Philadelphia, render it a subject of too much delicacy for the Department to interfere; and the whole must therefore be left, where it has been properly placed, in your sound discretion. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "P. B. PORTER.

"C. IRVINE, Esq. Commissary General of Purchases."

N. B. No change has taken place.

ESSAYS ON THE PUBLIC CHARITIES, &c.

"Whosoever hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, *and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him*, HOW DWELLETH THE LOVE OF GOD IN HIM?"—1 John iii. 15.

"How shalt thou hope for mercy, rend'ring none?"

"It is not so expressed. But what of that?

"'Twere good you do so much for charity."—*Shakspeare.*

NO. I.

I wish to call the attention of the public to the state of some of our institutions, which owe their origin to benevolent mo-

* There were two lists of names forwarded to the Secretary at War—containing, as before stated, the names of 131 gentlemen and 91 ladies. The clerk in the War Office must have overlooked one of them.

tives. Of these there are three species—beneficial—religious —and those intended wholly for charitable purposes, apart from all considerations of religion.

The first, merely private, confine their aid and comfort wholly to the individual members. With them the public at large have no right to interfere. For the second, the spirit of the times makes ample provision; I shall therefore for the present pass them over—and confine the discussion to some of the third description. These are of three sorts—those for the promotion of education—those intended for reformation—and those of which the object is to relieve physical wants.

These societies are very numerous, and have reflected great credit on the city, and tended to confirm its claim to the honourable designation bestowed on it by its illustrious founder. There is reason to believe, however, that no small degree of error prevails on this subject, as regards the extent of the support they receive, and their resources—an error which has a pernicious operation, and ought to be corrected.

It is assumed by many persons that those institutions are very burdensome to our citizens—that the stated contributions for their support are enormously and unnecessarily great—that they encourage idleness and dissipation, and a reliance on charity instead of industry—and hence we every day hear loud complaints on the subject; and in consequence, many benevolent, worthy, and wealthy citizens, are discouraged from affording that patronage which they would otherwise cheerfully give, and which these institutions may fairly claim. Thus the current of public charity is arrested in its course, to the manifest injury of the suffering poor, for whose relief they were instituted.

The Quarterly Review for July, 1828, contains a view of this subject, as regards Great Britain, so cogent and applicable to the opinions of some of our well meaning, but mistaken citizens, who appear not to have duly weighed it in all its aspects and bearings, that I am induced to submit an extract to the serious consideration of the reader.

"Posterity will scarcely credit the extent to which the popular feeling of this country [Great Britain] has been worked upon, and warped *by the ravings of some of our modern economists.* They, truly, have done all that in them lay, TO EXTINGUISH IN THE BOSOMS OF THE MORE OPULENT CLASSES EVERY SPARK OF GENEROUS AND BENEVOLENT COMPASSION TOWARDS THE DESTITUTE AND NEEDY PAUPER. In their eyes pauperism is a crime for which nothing short of absolute starvation can form an adequate punishment."

The complaints to which I have alluded, cannot apply to donations or bequests, which, being entirely spontaneous, give rise to no murmuring or complaints. They refer wholly to the annual subscriptions, to which, therefore, my observations shall be chiefly confined; and I hope to make it appear that no general clamour or complaint was ever much more unfounded. Let me observe, *en passant*, that those who are the largest contributors, make the fewest complaints. Indeed, I believe I might say, they never complain.

Before I proceed to the details to which the subject necessarily leads, I beg leave to notice a collateral error, producing similar consequences.

Many citizens entertain an idea that in the present state of society in this city, every person able and willing to work, may procure employment; that all those who are thus employed, may earn a decent and comfortable support; and that if not the whole, at least the chief part of the distresses of the poor, arises from idleness, dissipation, and worthlessness. Alas! nothing can be much farther from the truth, and nothing can have a greater tendency to harden the hearts of those who have the means to afford relief to the distressed, rendering them indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow mortals. There cannot be a doubt that this unfeeling and unfounded cant has produced indifference to a great extent, and paralyzed the hands of charity and beneficence. It is an error, therefore, which calls loudly for refutation.

In the most prosperous times there are always some trades and occupations that are depressed, in which there is a deficiency of employment, and, consequently, when the earnings of former days, laid up by the frugal and industrious, are consumed, and pinching distress is the result. There is almost always a superabundance in this city in some occupations, particularly clerks and shopkeepers. At some trades, employers take too many apprentices, and dismiss them as soon as their apprenticeships expire, when they frequently find it difficult to procure employment. General depression, moreover, occasionally takes place, in which there is a redundance of hands at almost all occupations. These facts, which are of public notoriety, ought to silence the heartless, withering, and deceptious cant, so often reiterated—that "nobody need be idle, who is willing to work."

That among the poor there are dissipated, idle, and profli-

gate persons, [are there not among the rich, and perhaps, allowing for the difference of numbers, an equal proportion?] cannot be denied. But the proportion is small, much smaller than might be reasonably supposed, from the various disadvantages and discouragements under which that class labours. The worthless and profligate meet the public eye in our streets, on the wharves, and, occasionally, stretched in a state of intoxication on the pavements; and are brought before the mayor's court, where their profligacy is made conspicuous. The numbers are magnified tenfold by the imaginations of the spectators. Whereas the thousands and tens of thousands, who are industriously employed, early and late, to make a sorry subsistence, at a miserable pittance, pass wholly unnoticed. Who can think without sympathy for the sufferers, and regret for such a state of society, when he is informed of the appalling fact, that there are, as I have stated, thousands of seamstresses in this city, who, by the utmost industry and skill, cannot earn above a dollar, a dollar and a quarter, or a dollar and a half per week; the last very rarely, and scarcely ever! Competition has reduced the price of making soldiers' and slop-shop shirts and pantaloons to twelve and a half cents each, and in some cases to ten, and even eight! At this paltry price, whenever they are to be given out, the applications are too numerous to be supplied, and the work is sought after with as much avidity as if it afforded a liberal support. At certain seasons even this sort of work is very scarce, and numbers of poor women are wholly unemployed!

A very expert, skilful woman, unburdened with a family, cannot make eight, nine, or ten shirts per week, unless she works from four or five in the morning, until eleven or twelve at night, which many of them do, to the great injury of their health; with a family, which many of them have, the greatest number will be six, seven, perhaps eight per week! When we take into view, rent, occasional want of employment, sickness, and the support of children, we shall have some slight idea of the distresses of the numerous widows, who are devoted to this most miserable of employments. May I not ask, who, duly weighing these things, will have the hardness of heart to involve in one general, sweeping denunciation, the distressed poor, as if their sufferings were the penalties of idleness and dissipation?

Although I know how extremely difficult it is to eradicate inveterate prejudices, such as many of our citizens entertain on

this subject, yet I fondly hope those prejudices will lose much of their weight and influence, when the following facts are calmly and dispassionately considered. Thousands of our labouring people travel hundreds of miles in quest of employment on canals, at 62½, 75, and 87½ cents per day, paying a dollar and a half or two dollars per week for their board, leaving families behind, depending on them for support. They labour frequently in marshy grounds, where they inhale pestiferous miasmata, which destroy their health, often irrecoverably. They return to their poor families, broken hearted, and with ruined constitutions, with a sorry pittance, most laboriously earned, and take to their beds, sick, and unable to work. Hundreds are swept off annually, many of them leaving numerous and helpless families. Notwithstanding their wretched fate, their places are quickly supplied by others, although death stares them in the face. Hundreds are most laboriously employed on turnpikes, working from morning till night, at from half a dollar to three quarters per day, exposed to the broiling sun in summer, and all the inclemency of our severe winters. There is always a redundance of wood pilers in our cities, whose wages are so low, that their utmost efforts do not enable them to earn more than from thirty-five to fifty cents per day. The painful situation of a watchman is an object of desire. There never is a want of scavengers; and, finally, there is no employment whatever, how disagreeable, or loathsome, or dangerous, or deleterious soever it may be, or however reduced the wages, that does not find persons willing to follow it, rather than beg or steal. With respect to females, what I have already stated is abundantly sufficient for their justification. Surely these facts are overwhelming, and ought to rescue the character of the labouring classes from the mass of obloquy by which they are too often unjustly aspersed.

"Ah! little think the gay licentious proud,
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround,
They, who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,
And wanton, often cruel riot, waste,
How many eat the bitter bread
Of misery. Sore pinched by wintry winds,
How many shrink into the sordid hut,
Of cheerless poverty.

"Thought fond man
Of these and all the thousand nameless ills
That one incessant struggle, render life

One scene of toil, of suffering, and of fate,
The conscious soul of Charity would warm,
And her wide wish Benevolence dilate;
The social tear would rise, the social sigh."

One word more. There are from 20 to 25,000 operatives and labourers in this city, of whom probably not more than four or five hundred are dissipated—to which many of them are driven by distress and misery, and desperate circumstances. For while it is unhesitatingly admitted that dissipation produces poverty, it cannot be denied, that poverty and distress too often produce dissipation, and recklessness of character and consequences.

HAMILTON.

NO. II.

In order to ascertain with something like precision the correctness of the idea I had long entertained, of the scarcity of female employment, and the deleterious consequences as to the happiness and the morals of society, of the paltry rate of female wages, I addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Female Hospitable Society, who has had the best opportunities of forming correct opinions on the subject.

MRS. MARGARET SILVER,

MADAM,—Does or does not a large portion of the distress among the poor arise from the low rate of female wages?

2. What do you believe the highest wages a seamstress can earn, who works at home on government work, or for tailors?

3. What is about the average?

4. Is the Female Hospitable Society able to furnish employment to all who require it?

6. If not, what proportion of those who request work, receive it?

Yours, very respectfully,

Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1828. MATHEW CAREY.

REPLY.

RESPECTED SIR,—"In answer to your first question, the Managers of the Female Hospitable Society state, that, in their opinion, *a very large proportion of the distress amongst the industrious poor does originate in the low prices of women's wages, and the uncertainty of constant employment.*

"Second Question. The managers believe and know the most wages that can be earned by the closest application to work, either from government, societies, or tailors, *will not average more than from one dollar to one dollar and a quarter per week.*

"Third. This Society has never been able to give work to one-fourth of

those who apply, even in the most flourishing state of its funds. Now, *not more than one in ten receives any!* This Society has 108 subscribers, at two dollars per annum, who paid last year. Some pains have been taken to ascertain that two-thirds of these belong, some to three, some to four, and all to two other charitable institutions. We also had 204 dollars from a sermon, bread, money, and other donations.

"We hope Mr. Carey will not deem it foreign to the subject, to observe further, that the moral poor, either men or women, when out of work, especially if they have families, become cast down, out of heart, and discouraged. *They are reluctant to be a public charge, and thus suffer the most severe privations rather than disclose their distress, or do violence to the best feelings of their nature by open complaint.* To persons of this description these private charitable societies are a source of support and comfort, and really mediums of moral good.

"We most earnestly hope Mr. C. will combat the erroneous idea which obtains so much at present, that these charities increase pauperism; on the contrary, we do assure you, sir, we feel clear in stating, that in the twenty years we have been active in this society, we can prove *we have been instrumental by timely aid*, (or, to use their own phrase, 'a little help at a pinch,') in keeping hundreds out of the Alms-House, thereby preserving that principle of honest industry, which is the mutual bond of civil society, and the everlasting barrier between virtue and vice.

"We remain, Sir, respectfully,

"MARY A. SNYDER, *Governess F. H. Society.*

"MARGARET SILVER, *Secretary.*

"MR. M. CAREY."

This letter demands the most serious consideration of the public, as it fully establishes the magnitude of the error which prevails, with respect to benevolent societies; and I trust it will call forth the effective support of the wealthy and humane for institutions which have so direct an effect to prevent demoralization, and mitigate human suffering, most of which are in a languishing state for want of that support, as will fully appear in the sequel.

I also wrote to Dr. M. Anderson, who is in extensive practice in Southwark, from whose reply I annex an extract:—

"To your query—'Does or does not a large portion of the distress of the lower order of the working-class arise from the low rate of female wages.' I state that the answer from all parts of our city and districts, must be in the affirmative. It is very clear, that when women were paid 25 cents for making a shirt, and so in proportion for every other article of their work, they could purchase more, and live better than they now can, when, as I am told, they receive only 12½ cents for a shirt, and so in proportion for every other article."

It may not be amiss to cast a glance at the mode in which these societies generally start into existence. A few persons of

public spirit discover a want of an institution for some particular object, and exert themselves to procure the co-operation of others of similar views. A constitution is formed—efforts are made to procure subscribers—and as there is generally a considerable degree of zeal in the commencement of all undertakings, and as there are many persons in the city who never refuse their subscription to any charitable object, one hundred, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred subscribers are procured, and the society goes into operation. It is uncommon to make efforts afterwards to increase the number of subscribers, when the original zeal abates; and very few subscribers offer voluntarily, unless for objects of paramount claims. Even if new efforts are made, they are generally attended with little success. Every year, death, removals, or resignations, thin the numbers; and thus the subscribers dwindle away, so that I feel persuaded, that at the present hour, the number of subscribers to all the charitable institutions in the city is not one quarter of what it was at their commencement.

The Female Hospitable Society consisted originally of 700 subscribers. In 1827, there were only about 107. The Provident Society in 1823, consisted of 1015 subscribers. In 1827, there were but about 600 subscriptions received, *including arrearages*—only 320 paid in 1828! The withdrawals from many of the other Societies are much in the same proportion.

Their chief support arises from interest on stocks purchased by donations, and by the bequests of liberal minded citizens. Without this resource, the most of them would sink into insignificance. Thus, of 452 dollars received by the Northern Dispensary in 1827, 270 dollars, or sixty per cent. arose from the bequest of one individual, James Wills.

I. *Societies for Reformation.**

1. There are about 300 subscribers to the House of Refuge. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The total receipts for 1828 were $11,993—of which $4,427 were private contributions, including $506 from annual subscribers, $2,000 from the state treasury, $5,000 from the county—and materials sold

* It was my intention to have given in this edition, a statement of the situation of the various Societies in the year 1829, and I made efforts to procure the necessary materials—but so many of my applications were neglected, that I am obliged to republish the account of the year 1828.

$66. The society borrowed $12,000 in 1828, to complete the building.

2. The Magdalen Society has about 70 annual, and 4 life subscribers. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The total amount receipts for 1828, was $1160, of which $160 were for subscriptions; $158 for work done in the house; and $839 for interest, dividends, ground rent, &c.

3. The subscription to the society for discouraging the use of ardent spirits, is only one dollar. The number who paid in 1828 was seventy-four, $74!!!

II. *Societies for the Relief of Physical Wants.*

Among the charities that stand pre-eminent, are the dispensaries for the relief of the sick poor. In a wealthy city with a population of probably 150,000 people, embracing a large portion of the poorer classes of society, it might be reasonably supposed, that there would be at least a thousand annual contributors to these institutions; and that the annual contributions would be 3, 4, or 5000 dollars. Such a calculation, however plausible, is miserably falsified by the actual state of things. The whole number of paying subscribers to the three dispensaries is only about *two hundred and thirty-two!* Were it not for the interest on donations and bequests, their utility would be reduced within very narrow limits, particularly that of the northern and the southern.

4. There are 109 subscribers to the Philadelphia Dispensary, of whom ten are for life. The annual subscription is five dollars. The amount received from annual subscribers, in 1828, was $455. The total receipts were $3457, of which $1332 were a bequest of John Grandom; $267, a bequest of Charles Brown; and $1858, for interest, dividends, rents, &c. There were 3623 patients under the care of the dispensary in that year, of whom 3450 recovered, 68 died, the remainder were discharged, removed, &c.

5. The number of annual subscribers to the Northern Dispensary is 89; the subscription is three dollars per annum. The annual subscriptions in 1828, amounted to $364. The total receipts were $3141, of which $1950 were a bequest of John Grandom; income of Wills's legacy, $265; Daniel Sutter's legacy of $97; contributions, $364; the residue, principal, and interest, $556. The total number of patients, under the

care of the institution in that year was 1150, of whom 1100 recovered; 27 died; relieved, irregular, and remaining, 23.

6. There appear to be but 34 subscribers to the Southern Dispensary! The annual subscription is three dollars. The amount received from annual subscriptions in 1828, was $102! The total receipts were $2548, of which the bequests of John Grandom, and James Wills, formed about three-fourths; the former $1640, the latter $265.—The number of patients under the care of the institution in that year, was 1036, of whom 966 recovered; 19 died; remain, 33; the residue were restored, discharged, &c.

The directors of the Northern and Southern Dispensaries have not been wanting in the performance of the duty they owe those institutions, by repeated strong appeals to the beneficence and charity of their fellow citizens. They have answered no purpose.

7. The Female Episcopal Benevolent Society, has about 150 suscribers. The subscription is one dollar per annum. The total receipts of 1828 were $202.

8. "The Female Society of Philadelphia, for the Relief and Employment of the Poor," consists of 128 members. There is no stated annual contribution; it is optional with the members. The total receipts of 1828 were $1576, of which $255 were annual subscriptions; $71 for work done; legacies of Martha Powel, Archibald Thomson, and Elizabeth H. Tyson, $408; goods sold, $448.

9. There are about 50 subscribers to "The Philadelphia Society, for alleviating the miseries of public prisons." The annual subscription is one dollar. The total receipts of the year 1828, were $236, of which $75 were from annual subscriptions; the remainder from ground rents and dividends.

10. There are about 130 annual subscribers to "The Indigent Widows' and single Women's Society." The subscription is five dollars per annum. The total receipts of the year 1828, were $7659, of which $665 were for annual, and $240 for life subscriptions; $4875 from John Grandom's legacy; $237 from Mr. Chevers's; and from Martha Powel's, 390 dollars; board of persons in the asylum $213; from Maelzell's exhibition, $124; donations, $417; sundries, $498. There are forty-four inmates in the house, most of whom have spent their early days in prosperity and affluence.

The managers of the society lately published a pathetic address, from which I annex the following extract:—

"The Managers are called upon to lament the decrease in the annual subscriptions. This has been so great, from time to time, since the establishment of the institution, that the income arising from the little funded property in possession will not make up the deficiency thus occasioned; and *unless new subscriptions can be obtained, or donations are received, the resources of the society will be totally inadequate to meet the expenses of the ensuing year.*— For several years, considerable assistance has been rendered by donations of vegetables, provisions, materials for clothing, &c. It is to be regretted that such valuable contributions have greatly declined, as the expenses of the establishment have proportionably increased in consequence of these supplies being withdrawn."

11. "The Association for the care of coloured orphans" was instituted in 1822. There are 39 members, mostly of the society of Friends. There are 99 annual subscribers. The subscriptions in 1828 amounted to $222. The total receipts were $915, of which $292 were a legacy of Martha Powel.

12. To the Orphan Society there are about 230 subscribers. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The total receipts of 1828 were $9466—of which $456 were for annual subscriptions. Life subscriptions and donations, $240—John Grandom's legacy, $4875; Martha Powel's, $390; and Miss Egger's, $500; dividends and ground rents, $2133; for work executed by the children, $157; sundries, $120. The number of children in the assylum is 105.

13. "The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race," consists of about 140 members. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The total receipts in 1828, were $830, of which $287 were from subscribers—the remainder, $543, for ground rents and interest.

14. The Female Hospitable Society has existed for above twenty years. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The total receipts of 1828 were $620—of which $337 were for subscriptions—$39 for interest—and $244, the residue of B. R. Cheevers's legacy.

15. "The Female Association of Philadelphia for the relief of women and children in reduced circumstances," was organized in 1800—and is incorporated. Its object is entirely confined to persons who have seen better days, whom it benevolently preserves from sinking to that state of penury and distress

whereby they become common paupers. Seventy children are taught. The subscription three dollars. The annual subscriptions in 1828 were $240—the total receipts $1042.

16. "The Infants' clothing association" consists of about 20 ladies who meet at each other's houses alternately once a fortnight to make up clothing for destitute children. The subscription is two dollars a year. The receipts in money in 1828 were $89; in addition to which the society received various donations of muslins, flannels, &c. &c. which enabled them to make up nearly 400 garments for distribution.

17. The Roman Catholic orphan society of St. Joseph was instituted in 1808, and has educated and apprenticed 100 children. There were originally 300 annual subscribers, of whom some few have commuted, and become life subscribers. Only seven paid in 1828. The total of the receipts was $1064, of which $893 were for ground rents and interest—$46 from subscriptions; and a donation, $125.

18. The ladies belonging to St. Joseph's Chapel have formed a society for providing clothing for the orphans. They pay three dollars entrance and three dollars annually. The receipts of the last year were $171.

No. III.

19. The Southern Dorcas Society in the year 1827 distributed 701 garments, principally to the aged, the sick and children, in want of covering, to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. This society, which ought to consist of at least 500 members, has but sixty, although the annual contribution is only half a dollar! Its receipts in 1827, were about $100, of which one half was received from the benevolent Robert Barclay,* of London, per Mrs. Chew and Dr. Parke. However, in addition to their cash receipts, several charitable ladies and gentlemen furnished them with articles of clothing.

20. "The Dorcas Society, of the District of Southwark," was organized in March, 1828, the object of which, is, "To afford relief to sick and indigent females and their children, so far as to prevent, if possible, actual suffering." There are 200

* This gentleman, a native of Philadelphia, but long settled in England, has, for years, contributed one hundred pounds sterling, annually, towards the charitable institutions of this city, most of which have partaken of his bounty.

subscribers; the annual subscription is a half a dollar. The total receipts of the year 1828 were $120.

21. "The Female Association for the relief of the sick and infirm poor with clothing," &c., was instituted November, 1828. It is composed of 35 members, and has 61 annual subscribers. The contributions are optional. The cash receipts have been 80 dollars. There have been received in addition, considerable quantities of materials for making up clothing,—350 garments have been distributed.

22. A very small association of female Friends exists in this city, styled, "*The Fragment Society*," from having collected fragments of furniture and other articles, which were superfluous in their own dwellings, and those of their friends. In addition to those collections, they have purchased a number of stoves, some beds, and a quantity of bedding, &c.; which they loan to deserving persons, who are in reduced circumstances, but from a laudable spirit of independence and sensibility, the best guardians of virtue, shrink from the idea of descending to the level of paupers, and applying to the guardians of the poor. —The loans are made at the commencement of winter, and the articles are returned in the spring; and, with very few exceptions, in good order. Their funds are small; but their opportune aid rescues numbers of valuable individuals from distress and wretchedness.—In scarcely any other mode, could the wealthy better bestow some of their superfluous means, than on this society.

23. There are 16 annual subscribers to the Colonization Society. The subscription is two dollars a year. There are 34 life subscribers at ten dollars each. Seven of the life subscribers have made donations of $40 each. The total receipts of last year were $482.

24. Few societies were ever more liberally supported at the commencement, than the Provident Society. The collections of the first year 1824, were as follow:—

10	Patrons at $100 each - - -	$1000
124	Life Subscriptions at $20, - - -	2480
1015	Annual Subscriptions, - - -	2030
	Donations, - - - - -	2029
		$7539

This was on a scale worthy of such a city as Philadelphia; and, had this degree of support continued, and adequate prices been paid for the work, it would have produced a copious har-

vest of good. But the public patronage has greatly declined. The annual subscriptions for the second year, 1825, sunk to $1018; for the year 1826, to $698; for 1827, the receipts were $1232, nearly one half arrearages; for 1828, the subscriptions and donations have amounted to only $646.

How utterly inadequate this society is, under its present reduced support, to meet the wants of the ill-fated women, for whose benefit it was intended, is obvious from the mortifying fact, that, although there are one thousand applicants, there was paid for work in 1828 only $2,253, being less than two dollars and a half to each individual.

I cannot resist the temptation to offer a few remarks on the operations of this society, to which I earnestly and respectfully invite the attention of the president and managers. That it originated in the purest motives of benevolence and beneficence, I cheerfully bear my testimony; and likewise that it has done and is doing good. But that the good has greatly diminished, cannot be doubted, as appears from the preceding paragraph. It affords employment in the winter season, when work from the tailors slackens, and when the sufferings of the poor are at their height. This is beneficial. But I am constrained to say, there is a great drawback on it. The wages given are insufficient to support human nature, even allowing the employment to be constant—no sickness to interfere—no children to attend to—no casualty to take place. The *maximum* of the women's earnings is a quarter dollar a day, and not more than one in ten can earn more than a dollar or a dollar and a quarter per week! I have been told in justification, by a benevolent manager, that they make no complaint—that they are satisfied with the wages they receive! But does this prove that they can pay rent, and feed and clothe themselves for such wages? If the price of making shirts, were reduced to 10 to 8, or even to 6 cents each, the poor women would still receive them thankfully. Why? Because they have no other resource—the alternative is a total want of employment, or the paltry wages of perhaps 12 or 15 cents, or, at most, a quarter dollar per day! During the season of 1828-9, the women have never received more than four shirts, and most of them not more than two per week!

I have understood that when the society was formed, it adopted the minimum wages of 12½ cents, given at the time by tailors. Some, I am informed, (but cannot vouch for the fact,)

paid more liberally. But as soon as the society fixed the prices, they were regarded as the general standard. If this be so, as I believe it to be, it was a most serious evil—almost enough to countervail all the advantages resulting from the society. The Female Hospitable Society pays, and has uniformly paid, of late years, 18¾ cents cash, for the same kind of shirts. The Provident Society ought to raise the wages to a similar price, so as to enable the women to earn a subsistence. If the society sets the laudable example, it will probably be followed by some of the tailors and others who give work to this interesting class, and be a jubilee to them and their children. There will be no generosity in the rise. It will be a mere act of humanity and justice. The present system is literally "grinding the faces of the poor." If, as I have been told, the funds will be exhausted by this measure, it is better so than half starve the poor people who work for the society. A proper appeal to the public would, undoubtedly, procure such additional sums from year to year, at the approach of winter, as would enable it to continue its operations.

These observations apply with equal force to all societies here and elsewhere, whose object is to give employment to the poor. They ought to give full wages, lest, by reducing rates, they produce a permanent and general evil, while they at best do but a partial and temporary good.

Societies for the Promotion of Education.

25. "The Infant School Society of the city of Philadelphia" was established in May, 1827. It is under a board of twenty-five managers, of whom Mrs. M. P. Moore is president, Miss Sparhawk secretary, and Miss Yarnall treasurer. There is a board of advisers composed of nine citizens. The annual subscription is two dollars. The number of subscribers 320. The amount of annual subscriptions in 1828 was above $600. Life subscriptions, $800, which indicates the number of life subscribers to be 40. Donations, $928. Liberal as are these contributions, they are inadequate to the support of the number of schools that would be requisite for the purpose of carrying into full effect the benevolent objects in view. The life subscriptions are invested as a permanent fund—and, without an increase of annual subscriptions, the Society will have to depend on an income of about 700 dollars a year. There are three

Schools in active operation, and a fourth is in a state of preparation. An act was passed by the Legislature, in April 1827, authorizing the Controllers of the public schools to incorporate the infant schools in their system of education; and a memorial, praying them to adopt this salutary measure, has been presented to the board by a meeting of citizens.

26. The Infant School Society of Southwark, consists of 166 annual subscribers. The receipts of 1828 were $460, of which $166 were from annual subscribers, and the remaining $294 donations and life subscriptions. There are enrolled on the books 246 children, of whom about 170 attend daily. Numerous applications for admission have been rejected, for want of room. Want of funds alone has prevented the opening of another school.

27. The Infant School Society, of the Northern Liberties and Kensington, has established four schools. It was organized in May, 1828, and between that time and January 5, 1829, there were raised by subscriptions and donations, $770; and received for tuition, $119.—The subscription is one dollar per annum; there are 450 subscribers.

It may be confidently asserted that there is no object, in the wide range taken by beneficence in this city, in which so much substantial, permanent good can be done to society, in proportion to the expenditure, as by these infant schools. They call loudly for the support of the opulent.

28. The Apprentices' Library has 165 annual, and 37 life subscribers. The subscription is two dollars per annum. The receipts from March, 1828, till April, 1829, were $681, of which $330 were for annual subscriptions; the remainder life subscriptions, donations, &c.

29. "The society for the free instruction of female children," consists of eighteen ladies, of the society of Friends, who have a school called, "Aimwell," and employ two teachers for the instruction of about 70 children. Their income last year was $742.

30. The Philadelphia Society for the establishment and support of Charity Schools, received in 1827, from 85 subscribers, $196. The total income of the year was $2656. This institution is in a most flourishing condition, and reflects the highest honour on the city of Philadelphia, and on its liberal founders. It holds in real estate and capital stock $37,110; of the former, $15,415, and of the latter $21,695. There are about 450 scholars, male and female, under its care.

31. "The Philadelphia Union Society for the education of poor female children," is incorporated, and has a school for the purpose. As its resources are by no means commensurate with its benevolence, it is obliged to limit its attentions to fifty scholars. The subscription is generally one dollar. The annual subscriptions are not sufficient to defray more than half of the expense. The remainder is borne by the interest on some legacies.

There are 156 annual subscribers. The total receipts of last year were, 404 dollars—156 dollars for annual subscriptions, and 248 dollars for dividends on stock.

32. The Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb is supported chiefly by the state, which maintains thirty-nine of its pupils. The whole number there in March, 1829, was 68, of whom three were supported by the state of New Jersey, two by Maryland, and there are, besides, 24, of whom 13 are paid for by their friends. The subscription is two dollars per annum. There are 143 subscribers, who in 1828 paid $286. The receipts of the year amounted to $18,059, of which the commonwealth paid $7,459; private pupils, $2,337; State of New Jersey, $402; donations and life subscriptions, $126; John S. Brown, of Chambersburg, $300; John Grandom's legacy, $5000; Daniel Suter's, $100; for manufactured goods, $1905.

33. The Abolition Society formed a fund at an early day, for the education of coloured people, which was liberally supported until the directors of the public schools made arrangements for their education.—The school is still continued; but there are only ten subscribers. The annual subscription is five dollars. The total receipts of 1827, were 341 dollars, of which 75 dollars were from subscribers, and the remaining 266 dollars from rents, dividends, &c.

34. The Philadelphia Association of Friends, for the instruction of poor children, is supported by rents, dividends, and stocks. Its receipts last year were 900 dollars.

35. "The Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of Public Schools," consists of 120 members. Its receipts in 1828 were 154 dollars. It has no permanent funds. It has distributed about 1000 circulars through the state, at a heavy expense of postage, to arouse our citizens to a sense of the importance of the subject of a general system of public education, and to efforts commensurate with that importance. It is to be greatly

regretted, that the success has by no means corresponded with its exertions.

Athough the Institution for the support of Public Lancasterian Schools does not, strictly speaking, fall within my plan, I think it may not be amiss to devote a few lines to its details. It was organized in 1816. There are at present 19 schools; 10 in the city, and 9 in the adjacent districts. About 31,000 children have been educated in them. The average number, at one time, is about 4000. The cost to the city and county averages about six dollars each per annum. The boys are received between the ages of 6 and 14; the girls between 5 and 13. The institution is governed by directors and controllers chosen annually by the City Councils and the corporate authorities in the districts, who serve without compensation.

TABULAR VIEW FOR 1828.*

Societies for Reformation.

	No. of annual subscribers.	Subscription per annum.	Amount of ann. subscriptions for 1828.	Total receipts for 1828.
House of Refuge	253	$2	$506	$4493†
Magdalen Society	70	2	160	1160
Temperance Society	95	1	74	74
	418	$5	$740	$5727

Societies for Relief of Physical Wants.

CLASS I.

Philadelphia Dispensary	99	$3	$455	$3457
Northern Dispensary	89	3	364	3141
Southern Dispensary	34	3	102	2548
	222	$11	$921	$9146‡

* I have taken great pains to render these tables correct, but believe there are some errors in them; none, however, very material, or affecting the general result.

† Exclusive of 2500 dollars from the state treasury, and 5000 dollars from the county.

‡ The Pennsylvania Hospital was inadvertently omitted in the above statement. The amount of contributions and donations in the year 1828, was only $381. The total receipts were $45,065—of which more than one-half, $23,528, was for pay patients—Interest, dividends, and ground rents, $11,073—Legacies, $5690—Sundries, $4844.

CLASS II.

	No. of annual subscribers.	Subscription per annum.	Ann. subscriptions for 1828.	Total receipts for 1828.
Indigent Widows' and Single Women's Society	130	$5	$665	$7659
Philadelphia Prison Society	50	1	75	236
Society for the care of coloured Orphans	99	2	222	915
Orphan Society	250	2	456	9466
Abolition Society	140	2	287	889
St. Joseph's Orphan Society	7	3	46	1064
Infants' Clothing Association	20	2	40	99
Colonization Society	16	2	32	482
Fragment Society	12	1	12	68
	724	$20	$1835	$20819

CLASS III.

Southern Dorcas Society	60	$0 50	$ 30	$109
Dorcas Society of Southwark	200	0 50	100	120
Female Hospitable Society	107	2	337	620
Female Episcopal Society	150	1	150	202
Female Association of Philadelphia	80	3	240	1042
Female Society for relief of the Sick and infirm Poor	61	1	80	80
Female Society for relief and employment of the Poor	128	2	255	1578
	786	$10	$1192	$3742

Societies for the Promotion of Education.

City Infant School Society	320	$2	$600	$2328
Southwark Infant School	166	1	166	469
Northern Liberty School	450	1	450	889
Apprentices' Library	165	2	330	681
Soc. for support of Charity Schools	85	2	196	2656
Soc. for promotion of Public Schools	120	2	154	154
Friends' Society for instruction of Female Children	12	0	00	742
Philadelphia Union Society for education of Poor Children	150	1	156	404
Institution for Deaf and Dumb	143	2	286	9029*
Soc. for instruction of Poor Children	00	0	00	900
	1611	$13	$2338	$18243

GENERAL SYNOPSIS.

Societies for relief of Physical Wants	1732	$41	$3948	$33707
Societies for promotion of Education	1611	13	2338	18243
Societies for Reformation	418	5	740	5727
	3761	$59	$7026	$57677

* Exclusive of $7459 from the State, $402 from New Jersey, and from private pupils $2337.

Thus it appears that the whole number of subscriptions to these thirty-five important institutions, is about 3700 per annum; and there is reason to believe that the number of subscribers does not exceed 2000, or at all events 2500—as there are several of our citizens who subscribe to four, five, six, and eight of them. It is therefore more than probable, that two-thirds, or, perhaps, three-fourths, of the whole support, are drawn from 1000 or 1250 persons, whose subscriptions will average from four to five each.—Several are subscribers to two; but a large number to only a single society.

One word more. A citizen who subscribed to every one of these societies would have to pay only about $59 per annum; and there are probably 1000 persons in the city who could well afford to contribute to that amount for such objects—500 who might with propriety double or treble that sum.

NO. IV.

One of the chief objects of these essays being to meet and repel the pernicious error, so very prevalent and so very baneful in its effects on the poor and distressed, that charitable associations for their relief encourage idleness and dissipation, by producing a reliance on their bounty, and thus, instead of being useful or necessary, are positively injurious to society, by creating the pauperism which they ultimately relieve, I have therefore repeatedly dwelt on this topic, as of vital importance, and shall continue to enforce it; and I flatter myself that it is impossible for any enlightened person whose mind is open to conviction, to examine the preceding tables with due care and attention, without being satisfied that the prevailing opinion on this subject is, I once more emphatically repeat, hollow and fallacious—deleterious in its consequences to the poor, and withering and blighting to the best feelings of the rich. No man will be so absurd as to pretend for a moment, that societies for the promotion of education—for the relief of destitute widows and orphans—for furnishing employment to the poor, who would otherwise be kept in idleness—for alleviating the miseries of prisons—for the relief of Magdalens—for the support of the house of refuge, and the dispensaries—or for the suppression of intemperance—can tend in the remotest degree to encourage idleness. This reduces the argument within a narrow

compass; for when the sums received for these purposes are deducted from the total amount, the remainder will dwindle into a very small modicum. The whole amount received by all the thirty-five societies taken into view here, last year, was $59,837, which may be arranged as follows:—

	Annual sub. for 1838.	Total receipts for 1838.
Received for the promotion of Education - -	$2338	$18243
Received for Reformation - - - - -	740	5727
Received for the Dispensaries - - - - -	921	9146
Received for Widows, Orphans, Prisoners, Abolition of Slavery, and Colonization - -	1635	20819
Remains for the relief of human misery, supplying food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, and clothes for the naked - - - - -	1192	3742
	$7036	$57677

Here then I make a stand, and on this ground rest the solemn appeal to the intelligence and humanity of this community, in defence of those benevolent institutions, which form delightful oases on which the mind's eye rests with delight, in the midst of the arid and barren deserts, which are, alas! too general all the world over, wherein man is so frequently rendered deaf, and blind, and dumb to the misery of his fellow creatures, and induced to hug his thousands and his millions to the last hour of his existence! Those who have been so long and so successfully endeavouring to dry up the sources of human benevolence, no where very abundant, and which at best pour their scanty streams in very narrow rills, have indeed much to answer for. Should the facts and arguments herein adduced, have the effect, as I flatter myself will be the case with some readers, to remove the prejudices under which they have laboured, I fondly hope they will be as zealous and industrious in the propagation of salutary truth, as they have been in the propagation of pernicious error. And may I not cherish the belief, that those wealthy and benevolent individuals, who have hitherto withheld their bounty, on ground now proved to be wholly untenable; that is, for fear of producing ill, where they intended to do good, will henceforward adopt a system more congenial with their nature, and more in keeping with the stations they occupy in society—with the claims society has on them—and with the manifold blessings they enjoy?

Here let me offer a quotation from Bell's Life in London, which bears on this case.

"The affluent are never too accessible (there are, of course, numerous and splendid exceptions) to the sympathies of suffering solicitation. They require to have the sound of misery rung in deep notes in their ears—and not to have them muffled and suppressed."

I have included, in the third class, the receipts of the female society for the relief and employment of the poor, 1578 dollars, which do not, strictly speaking, belong to it, as a large portion of its disbursements are for work done. This subtracted, would reduce the sum received last year, against which any cavil might be raised, to 2164 dollars. But as a portion of the receipts of that society is devoted to procuring food and raiment for the poor, I thought proper to add the whole sum.

Thus it appears that the whole amount of the annual subscriptions for those particular societies, which furnish food and clothing for the destitute, so obnoxious to some of our citizens, was last year only 1192 dollars: that their whole receipts were only 3742 dollars; and that a person who subscribed to all of them, would have to pay only ten dollars per annum! From the general prejudice that exists on this subject, an observer might be tempted to believe that the tax levied in this way, was 20 or 30,000 dollars.

NO. V.

"What mean ye, * * *that ye grind the faces of the poor*, saith the Lord God of Hosts?"—Isaiah iii. 15.

"He that *oppresseth the poor*, to increase his riches, shall surely come to want."—Prov. xxii. 16.

The case of the paltry, contemptible compensation for female labour, with its attendant suffering, wretchedness, and demoralization, presses so strongly on my mind, that I must resume it. Would to heaven I could do it justice—and that I had a portion of the eloquence of Curran or Burke, that I might enkindle such a spirit among the more favoured classes of the community, male and female, as would eradicate this "besetting sin" of the times, the disgrace and dishonour of our city; which places thousands of females in the appalling situation depicted by the correspondent whose interesting letter I annex; that is, with no alternative but—"STARVATION OR DISHONOUR."*

* *Extract of a Letter from a respectable Citizen to the author of these Essays.*

"There is no subject that has more painfully occupied my mind, than *the very inadequate return, for I will not call it compensation, made to females*

What an odious state of society! I find on minute inquiries, that a skilful industrious seamstress, unencumbered by a family, cannot average more than about nine shirts, working early and late. Now let us examine the result of a year's close and painful labour, supposing sickness or want of employment to cut off only six weeks in the year—whereas I might with more propriety assume eight, ten, or twelve.

Forty-six weeks at $1.12½ per week - - - - - -		$51 75
Room rent, sometimes 62½, but say 50 cents per week	$23 00	
Fuel, say 12½ cents per week - - - - - -	5 75	
		28 75
Remains for raiment, meat, drink, and fuel, for self and children, if any, the sorry miserable pittance per annum of		23 00

who depend on their needles for support. * * * * I allude to persons who have been delicately brought up, but have had their prospects blasted, and who have not strength for any other employment than the needle. Is it not to be feared that the institution of some of our charitable foundations, and the manner in which some really important objects are carried on, *have greatly aggravated the distresses of many deserving and respectable females?* Far be it from me to impeach the motives of any persons whatever. I believe the intentions of the persons referred to are pure and commendable. Indeed, I know enough of some of them to feel confidept, that they must be actuated by a high sense of religious obligation, and a benevolent concern for the present and everlasting happiness of those whom they patronize. But may not even commendable ardour sometimes lead to error? In the intensity of our desire to accomplish an object confessedly important, may not the ultimate effect of measures, apparently necessary and unexceptionable, be entirely overlooked? Now such has been the fact.. It is within my knowledge, that *females who once earned a sure, though, I would say, scanty subsistence, have, of late years, been reduced to a state nearly approaching absolute want*, although the ability and inclination to follow their accustomed employment had suffered no diminution. But *they could not obtain employment at the same prices as before.* The customers had only to send to one of our public institutions to have their linen, &c., made up *at much lower prices*—in fact, at prices which *reduce females to the only alternative of starvation or dishonour!!!* To the conductors of our public charities I would say, *Let no consideration induce you to do any thing injurious to female industry.* It is vain for those who must pay for lodging, to compete with your inmates, supported as they are by the bounty of the public. *Better, far better, to do no work of such kinds, than to undersell and destroy virtuous females.* Without dictating improperly, I may be allowed to say, that those who see with my eyes, are bound in honour and conscience to employ females as before, and not to pay them the reduced, but the former prices for their work; also to employ females wherever they can be useful, and on no account to beat them down, because necessity may impel others to work at a low rate. I am earnest, very earnest on this point."

To heighten the horror and abomination of this state of things, let us take into view the probable case of eight, ten, or twelve weeks' want of employment, or sickness. Suppose, instead of six weeks, there are ten, it reduces the pitiful remnant for food, raiment, and fuel, for a year's labour, to 18 dollars; 33 cents per week; or five cents per day! We are in the habit of commiserating the poorer classes in England; but it cannot be doubted that the case of many of the women in question is full as lamentable, and that they are as completely ground down to the earth.

Again. Suppose—a case of no uncommon occurrence—a woman with two or three small children to attend, with occasional sickness, and hence only making a shirt a day: she earns but 75 cents per week—little more than the amount of her rent and fuel—with twelve and a half cents for provisions or clothing! and yet we have eloquent orators declaiming against benevolent societies! Alas! for human nature!

The poor creatures expend their miserable earnings for fuel, sustenance, and clothing; and when their rent becomes due, they are often obliged to pawn their clothes, bedding, and furniture, to discharge their debt; or go round among benevolent citizens to beg what may satisfy their landlords (a much heavier tax than the subscriptions to societies, and heavier than the poor tax on some citizens, who cannot resist the calls of distress,)—or else all that can be laid hold on is sold by a constable, and they are turned into the streets destitute. This is a case of frequent occurrence, the necessary result of the pitiful wages they receive; and from this lamentable fate no degree of prudence, sobriety, or industry, can afford adequate security, while the present evil system continues.

If a curse be pronounced on those who "*grind the faces of the poor*," ought not those to tremble who have brought to this deplorable state so many of that sex to which we owe so large a portion of our happiness—who have watched over our infancy—ministered to us in our sickness—added to, and participated in our enjoyments—and solaced us in our distresses! Do we not callously and wickedly almost force them to those dishonourable courses that make those who are driven to them a curse and pestilence to society, and destroy their health and happiness here, and perhaps their immortal souls hereafter?

No man of correct feeling can read the preceding statement of the yearly earnings of this oppressed and interesting class, without shuddering with horror at the picture it presents to

view, and using his endeavours, if he have an opportunity, to apply a remedy. The ladies of this city, celebrated, so justly celebrated, for their charity and benevolence, are earnestly conjured to exert themselves, to efface this stigma from Philadelphia.

I venture to propose a mode by which this evil may be brought before the community, and a reasonable chance be afforded of applying a remedy. Let a few ladies of high standing unite and ascertain, from personal inspection, what amount of wages can be earned by industrious women, at sewing, washing, spooling, shoe binding, folding sheets, &c. &c., and then recommend such an increase of wages in all these branches, as will enable such women to earn at least two dollars, or two dollars and a quarter per week. No measure so completely based on justice and humanity, if properly patronized, ever failed of success. I could name a dozen ladies, illustrious for their beneficence, who glide through life almost "*unseen, unknown,*" any one of whom would be proper to commence this laudable business, and would soon find aids in abundance. But I trust it is unnecessary to particularize—and that the plan only needs to be proposed, to be carried into operation.

The wages of female house servants, bear but a small proportion to those of males. They vary from 75 cents to a dollar and a half per week, with board and lodging—whereas those of men servants, who do not perform near so much labour, are from 8 to 12 dollars per month. However, the attire of male servants being much more costly than that of females, the disproportion, although too great, is not as striking as it appears at first glance.

The government employs about 400 seamstresses in this city to make shirts, pantaloons, &c. for the army. Their employment, as I understand from high authority, continues about eight months in the year—and expert seamstresses make from seven to nine articles per week, at 12½ cents each. I will suppose them to average nine, for which they receive the paltry sum of $1.12½ cents per week. The calculations already made apply to this case.

The government paid for this item in 1827, $23,200.

I had fondly hoped that a proper application to the secretary of war, respecting the effect of thus "*grinding the faces of the poor,*" could not fail of producing such a rise as would enable this ill fated, pitiable, and helpless class of society to earn $2 25

or $2.50 per week. The result has not been as anticipated; yet the difference would have been only about ten or fifteen thousand dollars per annum. What an immense mass of penury and wretchedness to be relieved, and of human happiness to be purchased, at so cheap a rate, by a country with a revenue of from 20 to $25,000,000 per annum, and which pays eight dollars a day to its representatives! Five days' salary of the Vice President, who is not employed by official duties more than about five or six months in the year, is more than one of the women working for the army can earn in a year.

The wages for spooling are, I understand, 15 to 20 cents per hundred hanks, and a woman cannot do more than from 600 to 700 in a week. Those who spin thread are, I believe, in as melancholy a situation—and cannot earn more than a dollar or a dollar and a quarter per week. I ask, emphatically, is not this "*grinding the faces of the poor?*"

May I take the liberty of suggesting to the clergymen of our city, that an occasional sermon on the condition of the poor females who depend on the labour of their hands for a support for themselves and their children, and a strong appeal to the justice and humanity of their auditors, on this very interesting topic, would be at least as useful as any other subject they could select? I do not mean actual charity sermons; of these there are enough, and the contributions are in general sufficiently liberal. I mean sermons on the inhumanity of cutting down the wages of female labour so as to hold out to a portion of this class—many of whom are highly estimable—the frightful alternative—which can never be too often repeated—STARVATION OR POLLUTION.

It gives me pleasure to be able to state, that there are certain classes of females, who are decently paid. Milliners and mantuamakers, and tayloresses, who work in private families, receive from 50 to 62½ cents per day, and their board. They are in great demand, particularly at certain seasons of the year, and are accordingly treated with considerable attention, frequently sitting at table with their employers. Colourists earn from two to three dollars a week—women employed in factories about the same. Seamstresses who are hired in families, receive but a quarter dollar a day and their board; and are thus reduced to a level with the higher order of female servants. Is it not unjust and partial to the highest degree, that a seamstress who works in her own room, and boards and lodges herself, cannot

by any possibility, earn more than a dollar and an eighth, or a dollar and a quarter, while she who works in other people's houses, earns a dollar and a half, and her board?

NO. VI.

"Pure religion and undefiled, * * * is this, to *visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction.*"—JAMES i. 27.

"Thus spake the Lord of hosts, saying, Execute true judgment, *and shew mercy and compassion every man to his brother.*"—ZECH. vii. 9.

To the following letter from a lady of high respectability, who is unceasing in works of mercy, I solicit the most serious attention of the reader—and it is to be presumed that every man not destitute of humanity, must feel agonized at the idea that such scenes should be found to exist in a land flowing with milk and honey, while thousands are wallowing in wealth. I am not at liberty to publish the name of either the writer or the lady who handed me the letter. But I am at liberty to refer any person who may be sceptical on the subject, to the Rev. Mr. Hughes, of St. Mary's Church, who, in the performance of his clerical duties, was an eye witness to the heart rending scenes here detailed, and who drew a feeling picture of them in a charity sermon which he recently preached. I trust these shocking facts will impose an eternal silence on those who are in the habit of railing at, and disparaging benevolent societies, not only as useless, but as pernicious, on the untenable ground, as I have already so often stated, that they are productive of idleness and dissipation among the poor—an error that prevents the alleviation of masses of human misery, and too often, I repeat, steels the hearts of the wealthy to the sufferings of their fellow mortals.

"DEAR MADAM, "*Philadelphia, Dec.* 4, 1828.

"The family you requested me to give you an account of, lives in Shippen near Eighth street. Their names are M'Giffie. When we found them, they were destitute of every necessary of life. *One child lay dead in the cradle*—the other was in bed with its sick parent. *The mother was quite insensible to all the sorrows that surrounded her, and remained so for some days.* I ought not to have said *bed*—as it was nothing but a little straw. *The other child is since dead.* I believe that HUNGER MORE THAN DISEASE REDUCED THEM TO THE DREADFUL STATE THAT WE FOUND THEM IN.

"The wife has fully recovered her health, and the husband is able to work a little. She is near being confined with another heir of sorrow. *They are strangers in a strange land.*

"*In the same house are six families not much better off!* May God raise them up helpers in their time of need! I could mention many more, equally destitute. Indeed the suburbs display many scenes of sickness, sorrow, and wretchedness.

"In the old dispensation, God has said, 'the poor shall not cease out of the land;' and in the new, Christ has said, 'the poor ye shall have always with you.'

"What does this imply? That we shall let these our poor fellow creatures perish, because we have many calls? or because we are so much better than they? Who made us to differ from the vilest? That gracious God who makes his sun to shine on the evil and the good—and his rain to descend on the just and the unjust. Let us follow his example, and as much as possible do good to all men.

"One thing I ought to say, is, that I believe that *this family is perfectly sober, as Miss L. and myself have often visited them, and never saw any thing like liquor about the house.*"

Let it not escape the observation of the reader, that in the house where these harrowing scenes of human misery took place, there were "*six families not much better off.*" That is to say—in the family whose case is thus feelingly described, sickness was produced, and death probably accelerated by HUNGER! and so many other human beings in the same house were "*not much better off.*" What a volume is embraced in this affecting line! When such is the case in a single house, how many hundreds in a similar or nearly similar state of suffering, may be presumed to be in the city and suburbs! What a loud and imperative call upon the aid of the wealthy!

The following letter sheds further light on this important topic, and affords additional proof that distress, to a very great extent, too often exists in our city, to which our benevolent societies alone can afford relief.

"SIR, "*Philadelphia, Dec.* 8, 1828.

"I beg leave to make known the following facts which have recently fallen under my notice.

"In the course of the current year, J. B. arrived at this place from Ireland, where he had been doing good business, but by the badness of the times had failed, so that there was no prospect that he would be able to go on again. Thinking that in this asylum of the oppressed, he might be able with decency to support himself and that family, which, from want of money, he was obliged to leave behind, he embarked alone. When he came here he was much depressed, but commenced weaving with alacrity, and worked almost night and day. As soon as he had earned ten dollars, he deposited them in the hands of a merchant towards paying the passage of his wife and children. He was almost immediately taken with that fever, which, during the last autumn, proved so fatal to foreigners, and died in two weeks. Some persons came forward and had him decently buried.

"His wife and children have now arrived—and the residue of their passage

money was raised by subscription. They are in the most destitute situation, *not having even a bed to lie on.*

"Mr. M. Carey."

The salutary effects of the relief afforded by benevolent societies, a point so often disputed by theorists, who have never known what it is to suffer, and have had no opportunities of seeing the sufferings of their fellow creatures, are fully proved by cases like the following, which are of frequent occurrence.

At a meeting of the N. Y. Society for the relief of poor widows with small children, a few days since, one of the ladies made the following interesting statement.

"In the year 1825, I met with a family who had been reduced from a respectable life to the greatest poverty and distress. It consisted of Mrs. C—, who was left *a widow with four children, and an aged mother dependent upon her for support.* I was introduced to them under circumstances which excited in my breast feelings of the deepest interest. Mrs. C. was extremely ill, as was also one of her children, and her poor old mother almost worn out with fatigue and anxiety of mind: in addition to which she had become nearly blind from too close application to her needle, and was utterly unable to supply their necessary wants. I think I *never witnessed a scene of greater distress, or one which presented more urgent claims upon the bounty of your Society.* The timely relief thus afforded, was doubtless a mean, in the hand of Providence, of saving them when they were ready to perish. Every winter since they have received a little assistance from the Society, and by persevering industry have been enabled to support themselves with credit and respectability. Last winter Mrs. C. and her eldest daughter were both well settled in marriage, and the aged mother lives with them alternately, and upon this society descends the blessings of the widow and the fatherless."

I think I may venture to assert, that there are widows in this city, and many of them, who derive a partial support from benevolent societies, who once were able to maintain as high a port as any of the ladies who now figure in the dress boxes of our theatres at the benefit of a favourite performer. The highest and most exalted being that ever trod the earth, has no security against the vicissitudes of fortune—French nobles have taught music, and dancing, and languages, for a living—kings have become schoolmasters—and emperors have pined and died in obscurity.

The old code of laws for the support of the poor of this city was a pregnant source of abuse and of extravagant expenditure. It was lately altered greatly for the better—and most, if not all the gross evils removed. But it is to be regretted, that it oc-

curred here, as it often occurs in reforms, in pruning away abuses, one good feature at least of the old system was expunged—I mean the power of affording out-door relief,* which can be done only temporarily in future, as soon as the new buildings, now about to be erected, are finished.† This, it is true, was frequently and grossly abused, formerly. But it is susceptible of such control and regulation under the present regime as to guard against its evils. The new constitution of the board of guardians affords sufficient security against abuse if the power were restored, as is imperiously necessary. It by no means follows, because formerly worthless and dissolute persons were nourished in idleness at their homes by a lavish expenditure of the public money, that therefore meritorious persons, reduced to penury, are not to be relieved but in the alms-house. There are hundreds of persons formerly standing high in society, who, by the vicissitudes of trade, confidence in unworthy friends, or some other cause, have been gradually reduced to the most severe distress and penury—whom honourable men would shudder at seeing inmates of an alms-house, and who, in fact, would rather die than go there—but who, nevertheless, have a claim for support upon that society to whose welfare they have formerly contributed. To this meritorious class, every avenue of public relief will soon be completely closed. An alteration of the law is called for, empowering the guardians of the poor to afford out-door relief in all such interesting cases.

NO. VII.

"I was in prison—and ye came unto me."—Matt. xxv. 36.

In imitation of the godlike example of Mrs. Fry and her friends in London, there is a small, but excellent society in this

* Having been instrumental in procuring this alteration, and a zealous member of the committee who prepared the report on which the new system has been founded, I take my full share of the censure that attaches to the oversight in question. We realized the story of Jack in the Tale of the Tub; in tearing away the fringes and frippery, we tore away some of the essential parts of the garment.

† The following is the clause of the late act on this subject, referred to in the text: "Provided, that after the necessary accommodations are prepared in the hospital, alms-house, and other buildings, all relief granted to the out-door poor, SHALL BE TEMPORARY, and consist *entirely of fuel, provisions, clothing, medicines and medical attendance.*"

city, of female Friends, who visit our penitentiary, for the purpose of exciting religious and repentant feelings among the prisoners. It has, I am informed, been attended with the happiest effects.

The Society of "Les sœurs de la Charité," in France, have been celebrated by various writers and travellers—and too high praise cannot be awarded them. They are abstracted from worldly concerns—and devoted wholly to the hallowed employment of ministering relief and comfort to the sick and distressed—watching over the pillow of the dying poor; providing for the widow and the fatherless; in a word, in the practice of every act of goodness of which human nature is capable, and which human misery can require. Whatever may be their merits, and transcendent they undoubtedly are, I feel confident that a large proportion of the members of the Female Benevolent Societies of Philadelphia, are entitled to equal praise. Though in the enjoyment themselves of ease and affluence, which too often harden the heart and render it callous to the calls of humanity, and many of them of the most delicate habits—many having families to attend—they spare time to ascend to garrets and descend to cellars in quest of distress, in the dreary mansions of the poor; "to visit the sick—to comfort the comfortless—to feed the hungry—and to clothe the naked,"—and they will doubtless be richly rewarded in that country "from whose bourne no traveller returns," with the joyous welcome, of—"*Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat. I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me. I was sick, and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came unto me.*"

I hope I shall be pardoned for introducing a short extract from a most eloquent address of Judge Story, delivered Sept. 18, 1828, which applies admirably in its leading features to the ladies in question, and all engaged in such occupation.

"To the honour, to the eternal honour of the sex, be it said, that in the path of duty no sacrifice is with them too high, or too dear. Nothing is with them impossible, but to shrink from what love, honour, innocence, religion, require. The voice of pleasure or of power may pass by unheeded; but *the voice of affliction never.* THE CHAMBER OF THE SICK, THE PILLOW OF THE DYING, THE VIGILS OF THE DEAD, *the altars of religion, never missed the presence or the sympathies of woman.* Timid though she be, and so delicate, that the winds of heaven may not too roughly visit her; on such occasions she loses all sense of danger, and assumes a

preternatural courage, which knows not, and fears not consequences. Then she displays that undaunted spirit, which neither courts difficulties, nor evades them; that resignation, which utters neither murmur nor regret; and that patience in suffering, which seems victorious even over death itself."

Would to heaven, that some of our citizens who are "*clothed in purple, and fine linen,*" and "*fare sumptuously every day,*"—whose tables lay the four quarters of the globe under contribution—who drink Champagne at twenty dollars a dozen—Burgundy at seven dollars a gallon, and Madeira at four and five dollars—who give 5 or 600 dollars for a pair of horses—and 3, 4, or 500 dollars for a gig—and the ladies who do not scruple to pay 100 or 150 dollars for a cashmere shawl—20, 30, or 40 dollars for a Leghorn bonnet—150 or 200 dollars for a ring—10 or 15 dollars for a tortoise shell comb—would to heaven, I say, that some of them could be prevailed upon to accompany those "ministering angels" in human form,* the members of

* I regret that I dare not go into an enumeration of the names of the ladies referred to in the text. It would form a radiant galaxy, and be but a just tribute to their merits, and an incentive to others to follow their bright example. I cannot, however, refrain from recording two names—one, of a lady, who, it is to be hoped, has been transferred from this transitory scene to the realms of bliss—the other is still living, whose whole time is devoted to deeds of charity. The former is Mrs. Sarah Ralston, a woman whose name is synonymous with goodness. The latter is Mrs. Juliana Miller, a most indefatigable labourer in the cause of mercy and beneficence. Nov. 12.

Dec. 8. On reconsideration, I have changed my opinion, and determined to publish the names of more of the ladies who have taken the lead in works of benevolence and beneficence—of some who have "put off this mortal coil"—of others who still distinguish themselves in this glorious career. I have two reasons for this measure—the first, my favourite maxim, "to give honour where honour is due"—the second, to stimulate others to follow the bright example. With this plea, I throw myself on the indulgence of the living ladies, whose names are thus published without their consent or knowledge; and I am afraid with their disapprobation. The motive will plead my apology.

Among those who are now no more, are Mrs. Robert Smith, Mrs. B. Chew, Sen. Mrs. William Meredith, Mrs. Hannah Hodge, Mrs. Clement Stocker, Mrs. Thomas Wharton, Mrs. Stille.

Of those who are now actively employed in works of mercy, I shall enumerate—Mrs. Sarah Barry, Mrs. George Potts, Miss Olivia Sproat, Mrs. Esther Ball, Mrs. B. Chew, Mrs. Thomas Latimer, Mrs. Julia Rush, Mrs. Hitty Markoe, Mrs. M'Clure, Mrs. Snyder, Mrs. Silver, Mrs. Vanpelt, Mrs. Mary Hodge, the Misses Ralston, Miss Ingles, Miss Ann F. Wheeler, Mrs. Thomas Sergeant, Mrs. Susan Shober, Mrs. Alexander Henry, Miss Caroline Bayard, Miss D. Howell, Miss Anne Read, Mrs. Robert Parrish, Mrs. J. W. Perit, Mrs. York, Miss Davidson, Mrs Joshua Lippincott, Miss Eliza Lawrence.

the female benevolent societies, to the abodes of wretchedness in the suburbs of our city, where every room contains a family, in many cases widows who have been reared with tenderness and lived in affluence, but now have to earn a support for themselves and children by their needle, at the maximum of twenty-five cents per day! Could they behold their sorry fare, and the scantiness of the supply of even that fare—they would for ever cease to complain of the oppressive nature of the contributions to these societies—they would never join in the unfounded clamour against them, grounded on the absurd idea, that by their charities they encourage idleness, and produce pauperism! I am half tempted to be so uncharitable as to believe that this is, with some, a mere plea to justify them for not affording any contributions whatever. Far from producing pauperism, they often, by timely interference, prevent it. Were the examination here suggested to take place, perhaps gentlemen would appropriate annually to these benevolent objects, the price of half a dozen or a dozen of Champagne, and ladies retrench somewhat in the price of a shawl or a bonnet, or not change them quite so often.

The wealthy, the grand object with many of whom it appears to be to amass immense fortunes for their heirs, ought to ponder well on the eloquent words of a celebrated preacher of Boston, the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, whose congregation embraces a large number of the most opulent citizens of that city, millionaires and semi-millionaires:—

"My dearly beloved brethren, let me solemnly assure you, that some of you might appropriate five, some ten, some fifteen, some twenty thousand dollars a year, for charitable and benevolent purposes, and still retain *enough to ruin your children!*"

"*Enough to ruin your children!*" what an admonitory sentence! What a lesson! how just! how profound! How little

Miss Hannah Parke, Miss Sarah Wistar, Miss Mary Redman, Miss Juliana Randolph, Mrs. Moyes, Miss Lapsley, Miss White, Mrs. A. Cook, Mrs. Cornelia Cooper, Mrs. Rebecca Wilmer, Mrs. S. Page, Mrs. M. L. Moore, Mrs. Sarah Cunningham, Mrs. Frances Stanbridge, Mrs. Anne Halberstadt, Mrs. Carswell.

I should be sorry to have it supposed for a moment, that this list, numerous as it is, contains one half of those so meritoriously employed. I have gone as far as my knowledge or memory enabled me. I am well aware that in this case I subject myself to a double censure—for publishing any names at all—and for omiting some equally meritorious with any of those in the list. I submit. No man ever did much good, who would not dare to meet censure in a righteous cause.

regarded by parents in general! how fully borne out by the career of a large number of those who inherit independent fortunes, without the necessity of attending to business!

From a full view of the subject, and a careful examination of the lists of subscribers to the different benevolent institutions, I feel warranted in stating—

1. That they derive but a slender portion of their support from the wealthiest part of our citizens.

2. That their support is chiefly derived from the middle classes of society, and bears but a very small proportion to the wealth and population of the city, or to the claims of distress.*

3. That the idea that every person, able and willing to work, can procure employment, is radically wrong, and has a most pernicious tendency, by deluding the rich into an opinion of the worthlessness of the poor.

4. That there are great numbers of persons of both sexes, particularly females, who eagerly seek work, and cannot find employment.

5. That the charge so frequently alleged against the poor, that their distress and wretchedness arise from their idleness and worthlessness, however true as to a small proportion of them, is utterly destitute of foundation as regards the majority.

6. That it is impossible for a woman dependent on her needle, and employed on coarse work; and also for a spooler when encumbered with children, or even without, to support human nature by the miserable wages they receive—and in many cases the wages of the males are reduced so low as to render it impossible for a man with a family to lay by any provision for times of sickness or want of employment.

* There is one class of our citizens, who are heavily taxed for the relief of the poor, beyond their numerical proportion. I mean physicians. Independently of their contributions to charitable institutions, which are as liberal as those of any other class, the value of the gratuitous services they render, is probably equal in amount to *the annual contributions of all the rest of our citizens.* They attend the dispensaries, the alms-house, and the hospital, gratis—and never, I believe, refuse, when called on, to attend the poor, who have no means of payment, and from whom they would not receive it. There are physicians in this city, whose contributions in this way, amount to 1000 or 1500 dollars per annum. This is not all. Moved by the distress of their poorer patients, they frequently supply them with money to purchase food and medicines.

7. That it is a great error to suppose our charitable societies encourage idleness and profligacy; for they produce a contrary effect in almost every case, by preventing the depression and ruin, and consequent degradation, of the poor.

8. That if each of our wealthy individuals subscribed to all of them, it would be but a very slender sacrifice for the public good, and bear a small proportion to the claims of society on him.

9. That the low rate of female wages, not more than one-half or one-third of what is earned by men for similar work, is discreditable to human nature—pernicious to the best interests of society—a fertile source of misery, immorality and profligacy* —and loudly calls for a remedy.

10. That the Provident, and all other societies which give employment to the poor, ought to pay adequate wages, so as to set a proper example to individuals—and, so far as regards shirts and pantaloons, that the price ought to be raised at once to eighteen cents each.†

11. That, unless they adopt this plan, or one similar, they inflict nearly as much injury as they confer benefit.

12. That a reformation of the horrible oppression under which the seamstresses, spinners, spoolers, &c. groan, cannot be hoped for, unless ladies will come forward with decision, and use their influence to rescue their sex from the prostrate situation in which those unfortunate women are placed.

13. That it would be misplaced delicacy or timidity which should induce them to hesitate in the performance of so paramount an act of justice.

December 26, 1828.

* This may require explanation. Low female wages discourage prudent young men of the labouring classes from marriage. This leads to a life of celibacy and licentiousness, and they frequently seduce the young women whom otherwise they would have taken as wives, who in their turn become seducers. Moreover, the trial is almost too severe for human nature, when on the one side there appears nothing but a wretched pittance, scarcely adequate to a miserable subsistence, with hardly a ray of hope of a change for the better during life; and when, on the other, temptation often steps forth in its most seductive form, proffering ease, fine dress, and affluence—an alternative too often presented to young females, to their utter ruin here, and perhaps hereafter. Many of these unfortunates may, it is to be presumed, truly say with the Apothecary, "*My poverty, but not my will, consents.*"

† I am gratified to be able to state that the Impartial Humane Society of Baltimore, has adopted this liberal plan, and pays the price above stated—an example that ought to be universally followed. *June*, 1830.

THE REVOLUTIONARY OFFICERS.

To the Congress of the United States.

The venerable remains of that illustrious band of officers, who led the armies of the United States through "the times that tried men's souls" to the attainment of the most noble inheritance that ever fell to the lot of mankind—an inheritance, which, if wisely used, may lead to a degree of unparalleled happiness and prosperity to countless millions of human beings for generations yet unborn—these venerable remains, I say, have made repeated applications to your predecessors and to you, for a sorry pittance of the dearly earned remuneration of their invaluable services. Bending over the grave, which is yearly thinning their numbers, and must, at no very distant period, close on the few that now survive—they have appealed to your gratitude, your generosity, and your justice; but hitherto in vain, to the great regret of all who prize the honour of their country, or have souls capable of duly appreciating their services, or the glorious results of those services.*

* A luminous speech of General Harrison's, which appeared in the National Intelligencer of Friday last, sheds a flood of light on the subject of the claims of the revolutionary officers, so frequently, and hitherto, alas! so unavailingly presented to the attention of congress. The want of patriotism in the legislatures of the different states, in their disregard of the requisitions of congress during the revolution, rendered it impossible for that body to pay their officers, who consequently suffered the most grievous privations, particularly in the article of clothing, of which their destitution was so great as to be utterly incredible, did it not stand recorded on the best authorities. Disgusted at this treatment, so miserable a requital of their services and sufferings in the glorious cause, and so unworthy of the nation, great numbers of them resigned, and betook themselves to civil employments. It was impossible to replace them. In consequence there was such danger of the dissolution of the army, that the independence of the country was almost in a state of jeopardy. In 1778 and 1779, General Washington forcibly urged the subject on the attention of congress, but to no purpose. The danger becoming still more imminent in 1780, he resumed it once more. The following extract from one of his letters will remove all doubt as to the sufferings and merits of the army, and the critical situation of the country.

"I have often said, and I beg leave to repeat it, the half-pay provision is, in my opinion, the most politic and effectual that can be adopted. On the whole, *if something satisfactory be not done, the Army, (already so much reduced in officers by daily resignations, as not to have a sufficiency to do the common duties of it,) must either cease to exist at the end of the campaign, or it will exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, self-denial and perseve-*

The eyes of the nation are on you—and not of this nation merely—but of the wise and the good of the civilized world. They view with surprise the various difficulties and delays that have arisen in so plain a case, making such loud appeals to national honour and justice. Half a century has elapsed since many of these men, in the prime of life, glowing with the holy flame of liberty, abandoned lucrative professions, many sacrificing patrimonial inheritances, and eagerly ran with "their hearts in their hands"—at the risk of ignominiously terminating their career by the hands of the public executioner, to rescue their beloved country from a state of thraldom, and to secure for you the honours and emoluments you enjoy, and the seats you occupy. Were it not for their services, and the services of others like them, you would probably at present wear the galling chains of subjection to a foreign power, instead of regulating the destinies of a rising empire, and hesitating to

rance, than has perhaps ever yet been paralleled in the history of human enthusiasm. The dissolution of the Army is an event that cannot be regarded with indifference. It would bring accumulated distresses upon us; it would throw the American people into great consternation; it would discredit our cause throughout the world; it would shock our Allies. To think of replacing the officers with others, is visionary."

In consequence, an act was passed, pledging the government to provide half-pay for life for all such officers as should serve till the close of the war. This produced a totally different state of things. Resignations ceased—commissions were sought after, and the army was organized to the best possible advantage, and became efficient and formidable.

When the war was over, the disregard of congressional requisitions continued. The government was literally bankrupt, and unable to comply with its solemn engagement to the officers. A compromise took place—and they were offered *a promise of full pay for five years*, in lieu of the stipulated half pay for life. This proposal was accepted—and certificates for this commutation were issued. But the total want of credit of the government, and the extreme necessity of the officers, forced them to sell those certificates at their market value, which, in some cases, was not more, according to General Harrison's statement, than ten per cent. of their nominal value, whereby the *promise of five years full pay produced little, if any thing, more than one year's half-pay!*

The question now is, whether, after the lapse of forty-five years of severe suffering of this meritorious and injured body of men, *this powerful nation will, in its present state of financial prosperity, take advantage of its own wrong—or afford a very moderate and very inadequate compensation to the small and aged remnant of the officers for the enormous losses inflicted on them by its unpardonable, (I had almost said, dishonourable,) failure to comply with its engagements in due season?* CAN HONOUR, CAN HONESTY, CAN EQUITY HESITATE?

admit the claims of the remnant of those to whom such a state of things is due.

Much has been said on the subject of the celebrated Newburg letters. They have been a theme for universal obloquy. But they spoke a language fatally too prophetic, which shows the profound views and the sagacity of the writer. They foretold that unless provision were made for the just claims of the army before its disbandment, adequate provision would never be made—that having served the purposes of the country, they would, as soon as those purposes were answered, be thrown aside, and the services disregarded, which had safely brought the vessel of state through its awful perils, in a seven years' conflict with the most powerful nation then in Europe. They were urged in the most ardent manner, not to lay down their arms till arrangements were made for discharging their long arrears. General Washington, himself the soul of honour and justice, and relying on the honour and justice of his country, allayed the rising tumult, and persuaded the army to abandon a design dictated by self-preservation, but liable to be attended with the most dangerous consequences. It is a deep blot on the escutcheon of the country, that it did not respond to the noble confidence thus reposed, and that, even at this late hour, there are so many objections to making a return, which in its utmost extent, bears no more proportion to the services rendered, than a mole-hill to a mountain. Such debts can never be paid by money. In the scale of honour and equity, the boon acquired would outweigh the ransom of an empire.

The idea of pensions, with many of our citizens excites disgust, as if the very name were synonymous with baseness and prostitution on the one hand, and flagitious corruption on the other. And the pension lists of other countries, particularly that of Great Britain, are subjects of general reprobation. This reprobation is partly, and but partly founded. Many pensions in that country, it is true, are bestowed on unworthy objects—and sometimes for services not very honourable to the donors or receivers. But it may be averred, and disproof challenged, that among the proudest features in the national character of Great Britain, may be reckoned a large portion, perhaps the chief part, of the so-much-vituperated pension list. It affords a glorious manifestation of public gratitude for all-important services. I have now before me a list of pensions paid to individuals, or the descendants of individuals, who have distin-

guished themselves by heroic actions in the naval and military service of their country: those pensions are in a rational proportion to the merits of the parties. None of them appear to be extravagant, or to bear any marks of the prodigality which is generally assumed as characteristic of the system. The whole number of the persons in this list is about twenty, of whom half were elevated to the peerage, in addition to the pecuniary rewards. The pensions amount to £45,628, equal to about $200,000. I annex a few specimens of the highest grades:

Descendants of the Duke of Marlborough	£ 5000
Lord Rodney	2023
Lord Duncan	2000
Sir Ralph Abercrombie	2000
Lord Nelson	7000
Lord Collingwood	1000
Earl St. Vincent	2000
Duke of Wellington	4000
	£ 25,023*

Who can say that these pensions exceed the value of the services rendered by the individuals?

The sailors who served on board the fleet at the battle of Trafalgar, received £300,000, equal to $1,350,000.

Monuments have been erected to sixteen naval and military commanders, most of whom lost their lives in the defence of their country. The total expense £51,388, equal to about $230,000.† Where are the American monuments, some of them solemnly ordered about forty years since?

"Besides these acts of national benevolence, a regular pension, according to the rank of the deceased, is granted to the widow of every naval and military officer, whose life is lost in the service of his country; while in cases where particular officers eminently distinguish themselves, an addition is made to the ordinary pension."‡

These proceedings display not merely the honourable and ennobling feature of national gratitude, but a most sagacious and profound policy. Those rewards make irresistible appeals to the most powerful principles that actuate human nature—the ambition of honour and distinction—and the hope of reward. Hence British officers are impelled by potent stimuli to

* Colquhoun on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of Great Britain, page 244. † Idem, p. 245. ‡ Ibid.

brave every danger in the service of their country, confident that if they distinguish themselves by acts of heroism, their reward will be in proportion to their merits and services.

Let us impartially and fearlessly consider the course we pursue. In England, as we have seen, titles and liberal rewards follow, as they ought, glorious deeds. We have no titles to bestow, and we shrink from pecuniary rewards! In the whole course of our government, now fifty years old, there has not been, I believe, a single pecuniary compensation given to any of the men who have immortalized themselves, and rendered inappreciable services to this country, except the magnificent donation to general Lafayette.* Many of their deeds would vie with those of the Greeks and Romans, which have been the subjects of universal applause and admiration for above two thousand years. A cannon or two—a few swords—and a few medals have discharged the debts of the nation in this respect, and been all the rewards for past, or the incentives to future heroism!!!

Who has forgotten the miserable debates in congress on the subject of the hero of Derne, whose exploit is among the most glorious of the incidents of the American annals? The mighty question at issue was, whether the national sense of the splendid action should be displayed by the gift of a sword or a medal!!! Every man who felt for the honour of the country was mortified at a discussion, more suitable for the common council of a petty borough than for the legislature of a rising empire. Massachusetts in some degree retrieved the honour of the country by awarding general Eaton a tract of land, I believe ten thousand acres.

Let us trace our system to its consequences. Suppose a future war, in which a general, oppressed with the *res angusta domi*, is about to engage in a battle, or has to defend an all-important post, on either of which much of the national prosperity depends. Suppose a foreign emissary to tender him a bribe of ten, twenty, or fifty thousand dollars to betray his

* Mrs. Decatur's case is highly discreditable to the nation, and cannot be regarded without deep regret and mortification, by all who set a due value upon national character. Few more glorious exploits are to be found in the annals of warfare, than that of her gallant husband, in the destruction of the Philadelphia,—never was reward more richly earned than the amount claimed for his widow—yet twenty-six years have now elapsed [June, 1830,] since it occurred, and she is still kept in anxious suspense!!

country—an unimportant sum compared with the value of the treason. Such things are common in war. History greatly belies the memory of Louis XVI. if he did not owe a large portion of his conquests to such means. The general is placed in a situation to which human nature ought not to be exposed. The temptation to an aberration from duty is very great. If he prove faithful, he is scarcely thanked for his services. Rewards of any sort, except perhaps a sword or a medal, are wholly out of the question; whereas, by turning traitor, which he can readily contrive to do without fear of detection, he becomes independent for life. On the cessation of the war, he is thrown on the world with perhaps a large family to support, to which his means are utterly inadequate. His business or profession, whatever it may have been, has fallen into other hands, and it is out of his power to compete successfully with those who have preoccupied the ground.* This is truly a revolting state of things, and the procedure ought to be corrected. National resources are never more wisely bestowed, than in affording judicious rewards for eminent achievements. Thus may a nation at all times command the talents and services of its best citizens.

It is to the last degree painful to compare our treatment of the revolutionary armies which secured the independence of the country, with that of the loyalists by Great Britain. The former, many of whom were covered with wounds, and had spent their fortunes in the service, were, at the close of the war, disbanded, entirely unpaid, and exposed to pinching poverty and distress. The certificates they received for their services, for the payment of which no provision had been made by their ungrateful country, sunk down to 10, 12, 15, and 18 cents in the dollar, and were in numerous cases purchased by men who had been ill-affected to the cause of their country, some of whom probably owed their wealth to their disaffection. These certificates were afterwards funded at par, and the accumulated interest was likewise funded at an interest of three per cent. Thus a dollar in the hands of an officer or soldier, was, by national ingratitude and bankruptcy, converted into 10, 12, 15, or 18 cents—and by a dextrous stroke of political hocus pocus, 10, 12, 15, or 18 cents in the hands of a speculator, were con-

* I could quote heart-rending cases of this kind, at the close of the late war, but my limits forbid.

verted into a dollar, with seven years' interest, at three per cent.—and hence the revolution spread ruin and desolation among those who had been the efficient means of effecting it, and enriched numbers of its most decided enemies! In 1806, after a lapse of above twenty years from the ratification of the treaty of peace, when probably two-thirds of the common soldiers had paid the debt of nature, a tardy justice was rendered such of them as survived, who were obliged to swear that they had not means of support—but to this hour little or nothing has been done for the officers, many of whom have suffered and still suffer intense distress.

Let us now turn to the case of the loyalists, and we shall behold as great a contrast, as the world has ever exhibited. Never was there such a display of national gratitude. Their losses were compensated, and their services remunerated, by the enormous sum of $15,750,000.

"The following statement will show the amount of the benevolence of the British government manifested towards the American loyalists:—

"1. Sums paid prior to, and since the appointment of the commissioners of inquiry, exclusive of the sums distributed under their direction	£ 720,873
"2. Loyalists' certificates by the 28th Geo. III.	1,298,269
"3. Unliquidated claims, estimated at	300,000
"4. Annual incomes of loyalists, if reduced to £35,000, at ten years' purchase	350,000
"5. Half pay to the officers of the provincial corps raised in America, £60,000 at eight years' purchase	480,000
"6. The expense of the commissioners, estimated at	501,000
"7. Lands purchased for the loyalists in the Bahamas and St. Vincents, and the expense attending their settlement in the North American provinces	250,000
"8. Fees at the Exchequer	3,750
"9. Loyalists' certificates of East Florida	113,952
"10. Expenses of the East Florida commission	3,750
	£3,500,614*

"Thus it appears that more than three millions and a half have been furnished from the resources of Great Britain, and from the labour of its people, for the purpose of communicating assistance and comfort to their fellow subjects, whose loyalty and attachment to the parent state had driven them from their homes, and their means of subsistence, in a part of the dominions of the

* It is not intended to defend this prodigious amount. It is perhaps as incorrect on the side of lavish expenditure as our own system on the side of illiberality and parsimony. *In medio tutissimus ibis.*

crown, which, after a struggle of nearly eight years, had been ultimately severed from this country.

"The national liberality in this instance is without parallel, and places the government, the legislature, and the people, in a point of view which must excite the admiration of all civilized countries; and more especially as the pecuniary sacrifices were made partly under the pressure of heavy burdens, the result of an expensive war, and ultimately at a period when the resources of the nation had become extremely limited, and when a temporary gloom had overspread the country, in consequence of a stagnation of trade and other calamities at the conclusion of this unfortunate war."*

A nation that thus magnanimously and liberally indemnifies for losses incurred, and compensates services rendered, in its defence, richly deserves to be served with fidelity. *How stands the case with a nation that abandoned its heroes and defenders after a successful struggle, for the first of earthly blessings, to pinching poverty and distress, many of them to linger in jails for debts, some of those debts contracted in its service; and even at this late hour, after a lapse of forty years, hesitates to do justice to the few hoary-headed veterans that remain, the youngest of whom, I am assured, is verging towards seventy years of age?*

Philadelphia, May 5, 1828.

To the Hon. James Barbour, Secretary of War.

Sir,—I wish to call your attention to a subject not without interest as regards the treasury of the United States, and of the most serious importance to the comfort and happiness of the officers of the army. I mean the system recently adopted, of periodically transporting the regiments of artillery from north to south, often at distances of 3, 4, 5, 6, and 700 miles.

It is difficult to conceive any solid or substantial advantage to be derived from this system, to counterbalance its numerous and obvious disadvantages. The only reason assigned, to justify it, as far as I have learned, is, that as some stations are more comfortable and healthy than others, it is but justice that the advantages and disadvantages should be impartially enjoyed and suffered.

This is somewhat plausible—but it is merely plausible. Let us examine it.

We will suppose a corps stationed at some disadvantageous place, where dangerous fevers prevail in the autumn, as, for in-

* Colquhoun on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of Great Britain, page 216.

stance, Charleston or New Orleans. When the officers and men are somewhat acclimated, by a residence of two or three years, they are to be transported to the north, to endure the extreme severity of winter in Boston, Portsmouth, or Portland, with constitutions enfeebled by the southern climate—and on the other hand, officers and men, braced by the invigorating climate of some of the northern states, are, on this equalization scheme, transported hundreds of miles to Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, or Pensacola, to undergo a seasoning there, at the obvious risque of their lives!

Sound policy would dictate that as far as practicable, officers born and bred to the southward, should be located to the south, as likely to be able to contend with the disadvantages of the climate.

We now pass to the consideration of the effects of the system on the comforts, the happiness, and the pecuniary means of our officers, a class of men to whom the country owes more than it will ever pay. And here there is a solid mass of the most oppressive disadvantages without the smallest offset to redeem the system from condemnation. An officer is located, suppose in New York—he marries—is happy with his wife's relations—probably has children.—He enters on house-keeping —provides furniture, which, on even a moderate scale, makes a fearful inroad on his purse; as it is well known that in our economical government, the appointments of our officers are very far from extravagant. But behold, in the midst of these scenes of bliss and comfort, and anticipations of a long duration of them, an order arrives that dashes his cup with bitterness, under which he is obliged to remove to Pensacola or the Council Bluffs. If he take his furniture with him, the injury it receives is great, and the expense of transportation enormous. If he sell it, he must make an oppressive sacrifice which he can ill bear. He sells probably for two-thirds of first cost—and if he goes to a station to the extreme south or west, he must purchase at a great advance—nearly double the amount for which he sold.—This, to use a vulgar phrase, is burning the candle at both ends. He tears his wife from her friends and relations, with perhaps an infant in her arms—perhaps on the point of an accouchement; an instance of which, I am informed, lately took place with an officer's lady on board a transport.

The government allows only ten or twelve cents per mile for the officer's expenses of travelling—not a dollar for wife and

child or children, or for the transportation of furniture. It is easy to conceive how oppressive this regulation must be in the case of an officer with three or four children, and a servant to wait on them. Removals of this kind occur often within a year or two.

Well, he is at length comfortably fixed in his new quarters, after having his purse drained by the complicated expenses of the journey or voyage, as the case may be. In two or three years, he is to be again disturbed, and removed three or four hundred miles, with as little ceremony as would be used in the removal of a flock of sheep from one farm to another.

These, sir, you may be assured, are not "fancy sketches." They are but faint pictures of scenes, some of which are perfectly within my knowledge. On inquiry you may learn numerous cases of the kind. I could, were I disposed, state instances of transportations which have been the source of unmixed and unmitigated evil to both parties.

The disadvantages to the government are considerable. In the first place, a portion of the expense incurred by this system, is defrayed out of the public treasury, and is a wanton waste of the public money without equivalent. I have been given to understand, that this item of expense for the last year, is not far short of 20,000 dollars—I do not, however, vouch for the correctness of the statement.

This is by no means the whole of the evil.—The oppressive operation of the system on the comforts and purses of the officers, disgusts them with the service, and produces resignations of some of the most valuable members of the body. Indeed, few men, who can devise any other means of support, will remain in the service subject to such vexations. Within two months, I have met with an officer of great merit, a gentleman of most excellent character, and high grade of talents, who had been recently torn from his friends and acquaintances, obliged to leave his family behind, and hurried to a station distant from them, between three and four hundred miles. He was greatly and justly chagrined, and declared that nothing but necessity induced him to remain in the service.

This system of removal prevails and has long prevailed in the British dominions, and is the result of a profound policy. It is intended to prevent the cultivation of friendly feelings between persons in civil life, and those in the army. Scotch and English soldiers are sent to Ireland—English and Irish to Scot-

land—and Irish and Scotch to England. But such an object is abhorrent to our manners, customs, and institutions. It ought to be the study of our government to cultivate the most kindly feelings between our citizen soldiers and the great mass of our citizens. STEUBEN.

Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1827.

As I do not wish to avoid responsibility, my name is left with the printers.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

No. I.

All experience fully proves that important projects, opposed to prevailing prejudices or practices, have to struggle with great difficulties; and generally the more important the object, the greater the difficulty. The reasons are, that they always emanate from superior minds, which outrun their contemporaries; and that the mass of mankind very slowly renounce those prejudices and opinions which they have early imbibed and long cherished. They can no more keep pace with the superior minds from which those projects emanate, than the unwieldy elephant can keep pace with "the high mettled courser."

The accursed slave trade, one of the greatest stains that ever sullied the human character, maintained a struggle in Great Britain of thirty years' duration, before its doom was finally sealed, notwithstanding the united efforts to produce its interdiction, of a host of the best and most powerful men whom that country has produced—notwithstanding the atrocious (I had almost said the infernal) cruelty and enormity of the traffic were acknowledged by every unbiassed man in the three kingdoms—and, notwithstanding, also, that a very small portion of the British nation was interested in its continuance.

The struggle for Catholic emancipation began about half a century since, and notwithstanding the awful consequences that impended over the nation, in the event of its rejection, its fate was to the last degree uncertain, and nothing could have insured its success but the decision and energy of a powerful administration.

The grand project of the Erie and Hudson canal encounter-

ed a most formidable opposition, as did the system of internal improvement in this state. Both were most seriously jeopardized.

Similar observations apply to great undertakings in all countries. It is not therefore wonderful, that difficulties are encountered by the magnificent plan of colonizing on the coast of Africa, the descendants of the ill-fated natives of that section of the globe, who, in violation of the plainest principles of honour, honesty, justice, and humanity, were torn by cupidity, and avarice, and cruelty, from their homes, their parents, their husbands, their wives, their children, and from every thing near and dear to human nature. Nor, all things duly considered, are we to be surprised that it is most violently opposed by a host of enemies, (among whom the most ardent are those who would be most benefited by it) and but feebly supported by many of its friends.*

This state of things loudly calls on those who have a due sense of its great importance, and of the serious evils it is calculated to avert, to redouble their zeal—to obviate objections—and to arouse the country to exertions commensurate with the object.

The chief objections that are urged against the measure, are the enormous expense that would be necessary to carry it into operation, which would, it is contended, render it utterly impracticable—and the various difficulties and miscarriages which have taken place at Sierra Leone and Liberia.

Let us examine both those objections candidly. And first of the expense.

It appears by the tenth report of the Colonization Society, that the expense of the transportation, and the maintenance for a year, of each individual, is about twenty dollars.† According to a calculation stated by Mr. Clay, in a speech delivered before the society, the annual increase of the coloured population, slaves and free, is about 52,000 per annum. To keep them to

* It is to be lamented that the late collections in the different churches of this city in aid of the funds of the Colonization Society, amounted to no more than $369.

† "From the actual experience of the Society, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the persons already sent to Africa, the entire average expenses of each colonist, young and old, including passage money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head." Tenth Report, page 18.

their present numbers, by an export equal to the increase, would of course require about $1,000,000 per annum. This, it must be confessed, is truly a large sum—but to a country with a revenue of above 20,000,000 of dollars per annum, of which about $10,000,000 are devoted to the payment of the principal and interest of the national debt, which is rapidly diminishing, that sum, for such an object, is a trifle unworthy of consideration. And if a conviction of the incalculable advantages of the measure should spread generally throughout the union, as might be the case by adequate efforts on the part of its friends, and it should be regarded as beyond the legitimate power of congress to apply the public treasure to this purpose, there would be no difficulty in procuring an alteration of the constitution authorizing such an appropriation, in which case an adequate portion of the superfluous public revenue might be devoted to this grand object.

With respect to the various difficulties and disasters that have attended the colony of Sierra Leone, we are not sufficiently acquainted with the administration of that colony to be able to state their extent, or their causes—nor is it essential. Our grand concern is with Liberia, where the difficulties experienced have been utterly insignificant, compared with those which were experienced in the settlement of Virginia and North Carolina. The following account of the awful situation and gloomy prospects of Virginia, for twenty-five years from the first settlement, is well calculated to obviate one of the two leading objections to the measure, and is submitted to the serious consideration of the public.

"Smith left the Colony furnished with three ships, good fortifications, twenty-five pieces of cannon, arms, ammunition, apparel, commodities for trading, and tools for all kinds of labour. At James' Town there were nearly sixty houses. The settlers had begun to plant and to fortify at five or six other places. The number of inhabitants was nearly five hundred.—They had just gathered in their Indian harvest, and besides, had considerable provision in their stores. They had between five and six hundred hogs, an equal number of fowls, some goats and some sheep. They had also boats, nets, and good accommodations for fishing. But such was the sedition, idleness, and dissipation of this mad people, that they were soon reduced to the most miserable circumstances. No sooner was captain Smith gone, than the savages, provoked by their dissolute practices and encouraged by their want of government, revolted, hunted and slew them from place to place. Nansemond, the plantation at the falls, and all the out-settlements, were abandoned. In a short time, nearly forty of the company were cut off by the enemy. Their time and provisions were consumed in riot; their utensils were stolen or de-

stroyed; their hogs, sheep, and fowls killed and carried off by the Indians. The sword without, famine and sickness within, soon made among them surprising destruction. Within the term of six months, of their whole number, sixty only survived. These were the most poor, famishing wretches, subsisting chiefly on herbs, acorns, and berries. Such was the famine, that they fed on the skins of their dead horses; nay, they boiled and ate the flesh of the dead. Indeed they were reduced to such extremity, that had they not been relieved, the whole colony in eight or ten days would have been extinct. Such are the dire effects of idleness, faction, and want of proper subordination."—*Holmes' American Annals*, vol. i. p. 60.

This hideous state of things took place in 1610; and the first attempt at settlement was in 1585.

All the difficulties and calamities that have attended the colony of Liberia, during the twelve years of its existence, are not a tithe of the disasters that took place in Virginia in six months.

North Carolina was settled in 1668; and in 1694, the list of taxables, according to Williamson's History, vol. i. p. 144, did not exceed 787, *being little more than half the number that were there in* 1677, *seventeen years before.* "Such," says this writer, "were the baneful effects of rapine, anarchy, and idleness."

It is highly satisfactory to find that the system of colonization has a host of powerful and influential advocates in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.* But the opposition to it is almost universal in South Carolina and Georgia; which States, from circumstances to be hereafter explained, are most interested in its success. It is the only measure by which the mass of evils attendant on slavery can be mitigated—for miti-

* The State of Virginia, so early as the year 1816, passed a resolution directing the executive "to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the states or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of colour as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth." This resolution probably gave rise to the formation of the Colonization society, of which, therefore, the great State of Virginia may fairly claim the title of legitimate parent. The legislature of Maryland, on the 8th of March, 1827, passed a resolution appropriating one thousand dollars a year, for ten years, in aid of the funds of the Society. The sum is small—and is only mentioned as an indication of the sense of that respectable State on this important subject. Throughout the State of North Carolina, the most friendly feelings exist towards the scheme—and numbers of citizens have emancipated their slaves on condition of their being conveyed to Liberia. Some have not only emancipated them, but have made provision for the payment of their passage.

gation is all that can be hoped for in such an extensive and inveterate evil. And many of those who are aware of the magnitude of the disorder, and shudder at its contemplation, are discouraged from making any efforts to apply a remedy, in consequence of regarding it as incurable. To both those classes these pages are particularly addressed.

That slavery is a curse, and a grievous curse, to the States where it generally prevails, is readily admitted by all who have considered the subject, uninfluenced by prejudice. That a large portion of the distress prevailing in Virginia and North Carolina, if not in the other Southern States, arises from that source, is too palpable to escape the observation of the most superficial. While southern produce commanded ready markets and high prices, slave labour, employed in agriculture, though not as productive as the labour of freemen, was still profitable. But at the present prices of flour, corn, tobacco, &c., the labour of slaves is, in general, not much more than equal to their maintenance.

Philadelphia, September 1, 1829.

No. II.

A consideration on which I touch with diffidence, but which ought never to be lost sight of, in the discussion of this question, is, the danger of an explosion such as took place in St. Domingo. Although the vigilance employed in the Southern States has hitherto, and may for a long time to come, avert this calamity; yet vigilance is oftentimes relaxed, and in a moment of relaxation, a favourable opportunity of trying to shake off the yoke, may arrive—a convulsion take place—and, though the attempt would probably be suppressed, the country be devastated in the struggle.

In this discussion, our southern fellow citizens ought, likewise, seriously to consider the great disparity of the increase of the two races in their section of the union—a momentous fact, pregnant with alarming consequences, likely to explode sooner or later. The following statement exhibits the free and slave population of the five original southern slave States at two periods, 1790 and 1820.

	1790		1820	
	Whites.	Slaves.	Whites.	Slaves.
Maryland	208,649	103,037	266,483	107,398
Virginia	442,117	292,627	616,222	425,153
North Carolina	288,204	100,572	428,948	205,017
South Carolina	131,181	107,091	243,317	258,475
Georgia	52,986	29,264	193,781	149,656
	1,123,137	632,591	1,748,751	1,145,699

From the preceding table it appears that while the white population of those five states in thirty years increased but 57 per cent., the slaves increased 81! In North Carolina, the whites increased but 48 per cent.—the slaves above 100—In South Carolina, the former 80—the latter, nearly 150—In Georgia, the whites 260—the slaves above 400.

The next census will, in all probability, exhibit a still more striking contrast.

That the increase of the free population in a slave state, is checked by the curse of slavery, is beyond a doubt. We have seen that the white population in the five original slave States increased in thirty years only 57 per cent. Whereas the whites in the middle and eastern States increased in the same space of time 112 per cent., notwithstanding the thousands, and tens of thousands that migrated annually to the western country—viz.

In the middle and eastern States, in 1790, there were 1,947,073 souls—In 1820, 4,300,946.

The increase of the whites in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, was 180 per cent.—viz.

In 1790, 954,508 souls—In 1820, 2,662,529.

The increase of population, white and coloured, in the five original slave States, was only 65 per cent.—viz.

In 1790, 1,783,710 souls—In 1820, 2,956,275.

Whereas in the other ten States, the increase was 120 per cent.—viz.

In 1790, 2,027,248 souls—In 1820, 4,432,468.

These facts ought to arouse the citizens of the southern States to a sense of the necessity of affording a cordial co-operation in the Colonization scheme, as they regard not merely their own welfare, but the interests, welfare, and safety of their children.

A calculation in Mr. Darby's Geography bears strongly on

this subject. According to the past increase of the coloured population, he states that there will be of that race,—

In	1835	3,395,773
	1840	4,114,709
	1845	4,849,997
	1850	5,756,079
	1855	6,778,340
	1860	7,860,118
	1865	9,102,036
	1870	10,669,236*

In forty years, therefore, unless an efficient remedy is applied, we shall have in one portion of our country, *above ten millions of a degraded caste, cut off from all connexion or commingling with their masters*, whom, by that time they will greatly outnumber; probably from 30 to 50 per cent. at the relative ratio of increase from 1790 to 1820. This presents a most fearful prospect, on which I forbear to dwell. Who can reflect on this probable state of things without horror, and without lamenting over the infatuation which leads our southern fellow citizens not only not to strain every nerve in aid of the Colonization scheme, but strenuously to endeavour to prevent its success!

An expenditure of $1,000,000, per annum, as we have seen, would prevent any increase of the coloured population, which in 1870 would then, instead of 10,669,236, be only about 2,000,000: whereas the whites would be 36,000,000. Would not such a result be cheaply purchased by tenfold the sum?

HAMILTON.

Philadelphia, September 4, 1829.

P.S. Since the preceding calculations were made, and just as I was preparing to put the essay to press, the writer of an elaborate dissertation on this subject, which appeared in the American Quarterly Review, vol. i. p. 329, referred me to it; and on examination I find he objects to a comparison between the coloured population of 1790, and that of 1820, on the ground that the importation of slaves into the southern states, was not

* I have strong doubts of the correctness of this table. The increase appears to be greatly overrated. According to the past ratio of increase, the number in 1870, is not likely to exceed 5,500,000. The two estimates are submitted to the public, and let them pass for what they are worth. The smaller number is sufficiently alarming. Mr. Darby assumes the coloured population in 1820, at 2,102,809, whereas according to the census there were but 1,771,656.

"*Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*"

discontinued till 1808—of consequence that the importations unduly swelled the numbers; and that the aggregate thus formed afforded no criterion of the regular increase. The calculations were also materially affected, as he states, by the separation of Kentucky and Tennessee from Virginia and North Carolina. Unwilling to deceive myself, or to be instrumental in deceiving the public, I resolved to obviate these objections by comparisons of 1800 and 1810 with 1820—the two new states having been formed previous to the first date, and importation having ceased previous to the second. I now submit the results.

The white population in the five original slave states in 1800, was	1,377,152
In 1820, as before stated	1,748,751
Increase about 24 per cent.	371,599
The slave population of those states in 1800, was	793,721
In 1820, as before	1,145,699
Increase, equal to 44 per cent.	351,978
The slaves in the five states in 1810, were	974,432
In 1820, as before stated,	1,145,699
Increase, equal to 17 per cent.	171,267
The white population in 1810, was	1,522,693
In 1820, as before stated	1,748,751
Increase, equal to 14 per cent.	226,058

It is to be observed that the exportation of slaves from three of those five states to the southward and westward, during this period, was carried on to an enormous extent.

I now present a statement of the increase in South Carolina and Georgia, between 1800 and 1810, and between 1810 and 1820.

The slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, in 1800, were	205,850
In 1820	408,131
Increase, equal to 98 per cent.	202,281
The whites in those states in 1800, were	298,516
In 1820	437,098
Increase, equal to 46 per cent.	138,582
The slaves in those states, in 1810, were	301,583
In 1820, as before	408,131
Increase, equal to 35 per cent.	106,548

The whites in those states in 1810, were	359,612
In 1820, as before	437,098
Increase, equal to 21 per cent.	77,486

The reviewer assigns various reasons to account for the disparity of increase—among which the chief is, the migration of the whites to the States of Illinois and Indiana. This does not materially alter the nature of the case, nor diminish the force of the cogent reasons why South Carolina and Georgia should heartily co-operate in the colonization scheme. Similar migrations are as likely to take place in future as in times past, and to increase the disparity.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary comparative increase of the coloured population in the slave states, it is worthy of remark, that the increase of the whites throughout the union is greater than that of the coloured population.

The total number of whites in 1790, was	3,093,111
In 1820	8,043,915
Increase, equal to about 160 per cent.	4,950,804
The total number of the coloured population in 1790, was	757,178
In 1820	1,771,658
Increase equal to about 134 per cent.	1,014,480

EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES IN THE UNITED STATES.

No. I.

The importance of the union to the security of the peace, happiness and prosperity of our citizens, and the promotion of "the wealth, power and resources" of the nation, is deeply felt and distinctly acknowledged by every man of sound head and pure heart. Whatever measures, therefore, have even a remote tendency to destroy or impair it, must be regarded with disapprobation, and, as far as possible, ought to be counteracted. Should any foreign nations be jealous of our prosperity, and desirous of retarding our advancement, they must rejoice at any thing that threatens our union, and, if any opportunity offer, encourage whatever affords a glimmering hope of such a disastrous result as a separation of the union.

There are two subjects which have this tendency, and which deserve the most serious reflection of the public. The first is, the unceasing efforts of many of our citizens to inculcate the doctrines of the necessity and propriety of the universal emancipation of slaves in this country. The other is, the threats of resistance to the tariff, and those, sufficiently plain, of separation, in the event of its being extended, which have of late appeared in some of the (let me say, intemperate,) resolutions which have been adopted in one or two of the southern States.

For the present I shall confine myself to a calm discussion of the first, to which I request the sober consideration of my fellow citizens.

That slavery in every form is an evil—that to the extent in which it exists in this country, it is a great and alarming one—and that it is a subject of reproach in the eyes of the people of the old world, is not, I believe, denied by any rational citizen, whether slave-holder or abolitionist. But that those who thus reproach us, are not aware of the immense difficulty of removing the evil, is equally clear.

I will not, for a moment, allow myself to believe, that those who have enrolled themselves as advocates for universal emancipation, are actuated by any other than benevolent motives. But while I cheerfully admit their motives to be benevolent, I cannot help believing that some of their efforts, particularly those of the most enthusiastic of them, have a pernicious tendency. It would argue a slender knowledge of history and of the human heart, always to infer sinister motives from measures of a disastrous tendency. Some of the most ruinous measures recorded in the historic page, have emanated from persons acting conscientiously, but from erroneous impressions. With the motives of the parties in the present case, we have no concern. Our business is with the probable result of their efforts, in the event of their success.

In order to present the subject fully before the public, it is proper to take into consideration the number, at the date of the last census, of the unfortunate beings in whose case we are called upon to interfere, the number of white citizens in the slave-holding States, and the total population of those States.

	Whites.	Slaves.	Total.
Maryland,	266,483	107,398	373,881
Virginia,	616,222	425,153	1041,375
North Carolina,	428,948	205,017	633,965
South Carolina,	243,317	258,475	501,792
Georgia,	193,781	149,656	343,437
Kentucky,	445,027	126,732	571,759
Tennessee,	347,199	80,107	427,306
Louisiana,	75,498	69,064	144,562
Alabama,	87,201	41,879	129,080
Mississippi,	43,228	32,814	76,042
	2,746,904	1,496,295	4,243,199

Thus it appears, that in 1820, the slaves comprised more than one-third of the total population of the southern States; that they were in the proportion of two to three of the whites; that in the great State of Virginia they were two-fifths of the whole; and that in South Carolina they were more numerous than the whites. There is reason to believe that the proportion is greater now than at that period. In some of the States, the increase of the slaves is much greater than that of the whites. In South Carolina, in 1800, there were 50,104 more whites than slaves—whereas, in 1820, as stated above, there were 15,158 more of the latter than of the former. In North Carolina, in 1790, there were 288,204 whites, and 100,572 slaves, being but little more than one-third; whereas in 1820, there were of the former, 428,948, and of the latter, 205,017, nearly one-half. In Georgia in 1800, there were 101,068 whites, and 59,699 slaves, not much more than one half; but in 1820, there were 193,781 whites, and 149,656 slaves, nearly five-sixths.

In this state of affairs, we find that there are many of our citizens who deceive themselves into the belief, that it is possible, not merely with safety to the master and slave, but with great benefit to the latter, to emancipate the mass of slaves, at present probably 1,750,000 souls, wholly unprepared by previous habits for freedom, or for providing for their own support! What an awful delusion! Universal immediate emancipation would be the greatest curse not merely to the masters, but to the slaves, utterly unfit as they are for such a novel situation. Few aberrations of the human mind have been more extraordinary.

Let us examine by what means universal emancipation can be supposed practicable by its most ardent friends. There appear but four:—

1. By the humanity and liberality of the owners, who, converted by the zealous efforts of the abolitionists, are to be struck with remorse at holding their fellow beings in slavery, and are therefore to liberate them spontaneously.

2. By the coercion of the non-slave-holding states.

3. By the government of the United States, determining that slavery shall be banished from the land, and at the same time, disposed not to violate private property, liberating the slaves, and compensating the owners.

4. By the slaves forcibly emancipating themselves.

Let each be considered in its turn.

I. Voluntary and general emancipation. I presume there can scarcely be found a man so zealous and enthusiastic in this cause, as to believe that the slave-owners generally, or any very great number of them, bred up as they are in the strong conviction of the right to hold slaves, (the correctness or incorrectness of which idea we are not called upon to investigate,) and dependent almost altogether upon them for most of the comforts and conveniences of life, will ever voluntarily renounce the possession, and reduce themselves to comparative penury. Such an event may, it is true, take place when the millennium arrives, but not till then. And as it is not conceivable that this great event will occur, in our days, we need not make any calculations on its advent. Humane and benevolent individuals will continue to emancipate their slaves, as has been the case for years past. But I need not observe, that this applies but a very slight and inconsiderable remedy to an evil of such enormous magnitude.

II. That the non-slave-holding states will ever make the attempt to coerce those that hold slaves to relinquish them, is too absurd to be discussed for a moment.

III. The third plan now presents itself, of emancipating the slaves, and indemnifying their owners, by the general government. Such an idea has been sometimes broached, whether very seriously or not, I cannot tell. But it may, at all events, warrant a passing remark. Suppose we average the slaves, not at 150 or 200 dollars, as we might do, but at 100 dollars, each. At this rate the cost of the number of slaves at present in the southern States would be $175,000,000. This enormous sum only requires to be named, to set this scheme at rest forever.

IV. The last alternative is to encourage the slaves to revolt —to attempt to recover their liberty by force of arms—thus re-

newing the horrible scenes of St. Domingo—and laying the whole of the southern States in blood and ashes. I cannot for a moment harbour the idea that such a state of things can be contemplated by the friends of the blacks. But the conviction irresistibly forces itself on my mind, that the tendency of some of the writings on this side of the question, is to produce this result. The slaves are unceasingly taught that they are unlawfully held in bondage; and as a corollary from this, it is sometimes, not very obscurely, hinted that they have a right to assert their freedom at all events. It is impossible that such unceasing efforts should wholly fail of their effects. Some of the most ardent spirits among them will be on the watch, for opportunities of signalizing themselves as Tells, Vasas, and Washingtons. We know that attempts of this kind have been made, and some of the most formidable of them have been defeated by accident alone. Nothing but the dread of superior force restrains them. That such an attempt, if made, would be unsuccessful—or, if successful, that it would be at the expense of masses of misery and wretchedness to the slaves as well as their masters, which would far outweigh all the good produced, if any good could be produced by such a horrible convulsion, cannot for a moment be doubted. We may, therefore, fairly conclude the object of immediate universal emancipation wholly unattainable, or, if attainable, at too high a price; and it becomes proper to try to ascertain what are the effects likely to be produced on master and slave by the doctrines now spreading on that subject.

They are well calculated to render the slaves sullen, discontented, unhappy, and refractory—and the masters suspicious, fearful of consequences, and disposed to enhance the rigour of the condition of their slaves, in order to avert the dangers that appear to impend over them from the promulgation of the anti-slavery doctrines; thus, in this case, as in so many others, the imprudent zeal of friends is likely to produce more substantial injury than the animosity of decided enemies could accomplish.

What then is to be done in this alarming and unhappy state of things? Shall we sit down torpidly, without an effort at mitigating the evil, or preventing its increase, under the idea that it is hopeless and remediless? Far from it. The evil, though probably not susceptible of a complete remedy, may be greatly mitigated, and humanity to the slave rendered perfectly com-

patible with the security of the master, provided prudence go on *pari passu* with zeal.

Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1827.

NO. II.

Fact and experience are in all cases the safest guides. Let us then examine what has been done in states which have laboured under the evil of slavery, and have adopted measures for alleviating or removing it altogether: premising that there is an immense difference between the measures that would be safe and proper in a state in which the free people are six, ten, twenty, or one hundred to one of the slaves, and those which would be safe or proper, in states in which the latter are equal or nearly equal to the former.

Before, in the new-born zeal on this subject, we pronounce sentence of condemnation on our southern brethren for not adopting measures for an immediate emancipation, let us "take the beam out of our own eyes," and then we shall see clearly to "cast the mote out of our brother's eye."

In the year 1790, the numbers of free whites and slaves, in the middle and eastern states, were as follow,—

	Free Whites.	Slaves.
New Hampshire,	141,077	158
Rhode Island,	64,470	948
Connecticut,	232,374	2764
Vermont,	85,298	16
Pennsylvania,	424,099	3733
	947,318	7619
New York,	314,145	21,321
New Jersey,	169,954	11,423
Delaware,	46,310	8,887
	530,409	41,631

In the first five states, the proportion of slaves to the free inhabitants was only as one to 124. Of course, whether the former were to be emancipated by law, without the consent of the owners, or paid for by the states, there could be neither danger nor an oppressive burden in the operation.

In the three last states, the proportion was as 1 to 12.

The first and most obvious reflection that arises from these

views of the subject, is, that if the same holy zeal in favour of the oppressed Africans, that prevails among many of the citizens of what are now called, by way of distinction, the non-slave-holding states, had existed in 1790, it might have been indulged without any of those consequences which could not possibly be avoided in the event of universal emancipation, in the States, where the slaves are in the proportion of two to three; three to seven; or twelve to eleven of the whites, as is the case in South Carolina. It is, therefore, fair to say, that whatever censure attaches to Virginia, or North or South Carolina, for not proceeding immediately in the liberal plan of emancipating their slaves, who are as two to three, the censure of Pennsylvania, where they were in 1790, only as one to 113, or of New Hampshire, where they were only as one to 880, was incomparably greater.

Slavery never made much progress in Pennsylvania. The total number was probably never more than 4 or 5000. In March, 1780, during the horrors of a raging warfare, this state passed a memorable act, which reflects great honour on her humanity and her prudence. By this act it was declared that after the passing of the same, no person born in this State, whatever might be the condition of the parents, should be a slave; that the children of slaves, born after that time, should be servants to the owners of their mothers, until the age of 28. By a clause in this law, all the slaves in the State were ordered to be registered in the proper office, before the following November, and in case of failure, they were declared to be free. Pennsylvania did not then nor has she since emancipated a single slave by law. Even those born after the date of the act, were, as we have seen, subject to a long and tedious servitude, which was a sort of temporary slavery. It is probable that this State is not even at this hour free from the stain of slavery.—At the date of the last census, there remained 211 slaves, some of whom, very likely are still living. It therefore ill becomes Pennsylvania to reproach her sister States, with the existence of an evil of which the cure is almost hopeless, when a similar evil has so long existed within her own borders, susceptible of an easy cure.* An additional reason why the citizens of the

* Had there been any thing wanting to show the extravagant folly of Pennsylvanians dictating to the southern States to emancipate their slaves, that deficiency was amply supplied in the session of the legislature of this state of 1825–6, when a bill was reported for the total abolition of slavery,

middle and eastern states, should not be so liberal in their vituperation of the southern states, may be found in the strong fact, that many of the evils of slavery have been entailed on the latter states, by the slave traders of the former. In four years from 1804 to 1807, inclusive, no less than fifty-nine slave ships, belonging to Rhode Island, and containing 7958 slaves, entered the port of Charleston.* The trade of slaves was then carried on in Rhode Island, as vigorously and ardently as at present, is the trade in cotton yarn and calicoes.

In New Jersey the decrease of slavery has been very slow and gradual. The numbers actually increased between the first and second census. They were as follow:

1790	11,423	slaves.
1800	12,422	„
1810	10,851	„
1820	7,557	„

In New York, by a law enacted in 1817, and which came into operation July 4, 1827, the whole of the slaves were emancipated. The decrease before that period was not very rapid:

1790	21,321	slaves.
1800	20,613	„
1810	15,017	„
1820	10,088	„

In New Hampshire slavery existed in 1790, when there were 158 slaves—and in 1800, when they were reduced to 8. Slavery was extinguished between 1800 and 1810.

To this time it exists in Delaware, and very probably in Connecticut and Rhode Island. The number in these states, at the date of the different periods of taking the census were:—

	1790	1800	1810	1820
Delaware,	8887	6153	4177	4509
Connecticut,	2764	950	310	97
Rhode Island,	948	388	103	48†

which was laid on the table. Three efforts, Feb. 17, Feb. 20, and March 2, 1826, were made *to procure it even a consideration*, which were negatived by majorities of 57 to 22—53 to 28—and 62 to 31. At that time there were not probably 100 slaves in the state. This simple fact should impose an eternal silence on our citizens, and prevent interference in concerns which are placed out of their cognizance, by every rule of propriety, justice and consistency.

* See speech of Wm. Smith, of South Carolina, on the Missouri question.

† Let it not be supposed that the reduction of the number of slaves in the middle and eastern states, has arisen altogether from manumission: That

From the above it appears that the number of slaves in Delaware increased nearly ten per cent. between 1810 and 1820.

After this imperfect discussion of the subject, it remains to consider what is the proper course to be pursued in this unhappy state of things, so as to reconcile, as far as possible, the demands of humanity towards the slave, with the security and the claims of the master, and the welfare of the states interested. Can it answer any benevolent or valuable purpose to render the slaves restless, discontented, unhappy, and ripe for revolt, by an unceasing declamation on the oppression under which they labour? to make them long after a state, which in the present situation of affairs, is, at least for a long time, entirely hopeless? Is the situation of the free negroes, so very enviable compared with that of the slaves, as to render it advisable to incur the risque of convulsion for the emancipation of the latter?

Are we to keep the masters in a constant state of feverish anxiety and apprehension? to deter them, however humane, from relaxing the rigour of the slave code? to sow the seeds of jealousy, and distrust, and hostile feelings, between the different sections of the union?

Certainly, this is not the course to be pursued. Prudence, policy, common sense, and humanity equally forbid. I will venture to sketch a plan that appears likely to produce salutary results, for master and slave.

Let the friends of the slaves, while they freely admit the evils of slavery, place in strong relief before that class the alleviating circumstances in their situation, compared with that of the working part of the population of most of the countries in Europe; that at the period of life when nature prompts to enter on the marriage connexion, they need not be deterred from it by the apprehension of being burdened with the support of children, as prudence would dictate to half the labouring classes throughout the world;* that they are not haunted by the spec-

would be a great error. In very many cases slaves have been conveyed from those states, and sold in the southern states.

* If passion did not overrule the dictates of prudence, not more than one operative in five would marry in Europe. To most of them children are a source of distress and poverty. To a slave it makes no difference whether he has only one child or as many as Solomon might have had with his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. He "neither sows nor spins"—his master "provides for them."

tres of poverty and misery in old age and sickness, which in Europe are constantly present to the view of the working people; that they are not liable to suffer the pressure of want, by the deficiency of employment; that the situation of many of the emancipated slaves has by no means been improved; that of no small number of them it has depreciated; in a word, let the course pursued hitherto, of which the tendency has been to render them miserable, be wholly changed, and the unceasing efforts of their friends be directed to reconcile them to their lot, but by all means, to ameliorate that lot as far as possible.

On the other hand, what is the course the friends of the slaves ought to pursue with regard to the masters? Instead of a constant succession of exasperating publications, which, by fretting and souring the masters, must tend to deteriorate the condition of the slaves, let the former be conciliated by appeals to their humanity, and not merely to their humanity, but to their personal interests—let them be urged by the claims of humanity and religion, to soften, as far as practicable with safety, the rigour of the state of slavery; to revise their codes; to expunge from them many severe clauses enacted in times of alarm, a great proportion of which have probably become obsolete, and yet remain as a stigma on the codes in which they are contained; to attach slaves to the soil, so as to be no longer chattels; to prohibit, above all things, the separation of parents and children, and husbands and wives;—and to make provision for the gradual abolition of slavery, on some of the plans pursued in the other states.

The system proper to be pursued towards the free blacks, would be to promote their colonization in Liberia, in which it would be decidedly the interest of all the slave states to concur heartily.

Many of the laws regarding slaves are liable to the strongest objections, and require an immediate and radical alteration, whatever order may be taken on the subject of slavery in general. Who can hear without horror, that in the state of Mississippi there are no less than thirty-eight crimes punished capitally, if perpetrated by slaves, of which twenty are not punishable by statute, if perpetrated by whites, and the remaining eighteen are only punishable by fine and imprisonment?* And, further, that

* A valuable work has recently been published, by George M. Stroud, Esq. entitled "A Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several States of the United States of America," which contains statements of severities,

in the trial of a negro in a court of Louisiana, composed of six persons, if the court be equally divided, the accused party is pronounced guilty! Various other cases, requiring immediate reform and alteration, are to be found in the codes of the other states, but none so flagrant or revolting as these.

HAMILTON.

Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1827.

SLAVE LABOUR EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURES.

The project of employing slave labour in the manufacture of coarse cottons and other coarse goods, which is now agitated in Virginia, and some of the other southern states, is pregnant with the most salutary consequences to those states, and bids fair to extricate them from the difficulties under which they labour, and have laboured for years, and to diffuse prosperity far and wide wherever it is adopted. It will turn to a valuable account a great mass of labour, a large portion of which is now wholly unemployed. Among its beneficial results will be, to render the slaves more valuable; to secure them more indulgent treatment; to improve their faculties; and to accelerate their fitness for final emancipation.

Its effects, moreover, on the nation at large, will be highly salutary, by removing the jealousies and heart-burnings that prevail on the subject of the protecting system, which is very erroneously supposed, in the southern states, to operate not merely to the exclusive benefit of the middle and eastern states, but to the great injury of the southern. It will, therefore, tend to knit more closely the bonds of union between the different sections of the country.

It is not too much, considering the numerous benefits of this project, to say, that he who first broached it, may be regarded as a public benefactor.

In order to test the advantages of the project, I shall institute a comparison between the result of slave labour thus employed,

many of which ought not to be tolerated for a single day, and which are totally unnecessary for the security of the person or property of the master. This work is earnestly recommended to the dispassionate consideration of slave owners generally.

and free labour. However, not being a manufacturer, nor an owner of slaves, I do not pretend to critical accuracy; but shall endeavour to approximate to it as near as possible, inviting those better acquainted with the subject, to canvass my statement rigorously, and, should it be found incorrect, as it probably will be, to point out its errors. My chief object is to provoke discussion, whereby the truth may and must eventually be elicited, on a subject not yielding in importance to any that has for a long time occupied public attention.

I shall assume, on the one side, a cotton manufactory, with 100 free operatives, principally young females, earning on the average 200 cents per week; and, on the other, one worked by as many slaves, young and old, who do only three-fourths as much as the whites, i. e. to average that quantity of work, of which the wages of free labour would be a dollar and fifty cents per week.

FREE LABOUR.

100 operatives earning on an average $2 per week—100 × 2 × 52 = per annum in wages,		$10,400
Suppose the goods produced equal to five times the amount of the wages, the result would be		$52,000
Suppose 12½ per cent. on $52,000, for profit, wear and tear, and for superintendence, equal to		$6,500
Deduct for superintendence	$1,500	
Wear and tear	500	
		2,000
Net profit		$4,500

SLAVE LABOUR.

100 slaves, whose work, if executed by free persons, would cost for each 150 cents per week—100 × 150 × 52 =		$7,800
Five fold as before	$39,000	
12½ per cent. on $39,000		$4,875
		$12,675

PER CONTRA.

Support of 100 slaves, at 32 dollars per annum,	$3,200	
Interest on $15,000, supposed cost of slaves,	900	
Superintendence,	1,500	
Wear and tear,	500	
		$6,105
Remains		$6,570

Thus it appears, if my calculation be not extremely erroneous, that slave labour would, contrary to the prevailing opinion, be more profitable than free.

I take no account, on either side, of the interest of the capital, fixed or circulating.

This plan will make an immense difference in the prospects of those slave-holding states which may adopt it. The labour of slaves of both sexes, who may be employed in this way, particularly including the very young ones, cannot at present average more than ten dollars per annum; but suppose we allow twenty dollars, the 100 slaves, taken into the preceding estimate, would produce only two thousand dollars per annum. Whereas, employed in manufactures, they would produce, according to the same estimate, more than treble that sum. This regards merely the individual owners of slaves. Higher considerations arise, as regards the slave states. The money now employed to purchase the contemplated articles in the other states, or in Europe, whereby the southern states are impoverished, will be retained at home, to invigorate their industry, and enrich their citizens. Another consideration demands serious attention. This process will diminish the number of the cultivators of the soil; of course diminish the gluts of the market; and, further, increase the home market for their edible products, by the conversion of producers into consumers.

Some of the most valuable water-power in the United States, perhaps in the world, is to be found in Virginia and Maryland; provisions are cheap; the raw material is raised on the spot; the labour proposed to be employed is a drug; the climate is milder, and therefore obstructions to the use of water-power are rare. These are the grand elements on which to erect the noble edifice of southern prosperity.

I anticipate one objection—that slaves cannot be converted into manufacturers. This objection is set aside by the fact, that in many places they are thus converted. In Kentucky, there are large, extensive, and profitable manufactories of cotton bagging, the operatives of which are, without a single exception, slaves. There are various manufactories in other parts of the western states, conducted in a similar mode. These facts, I trust, settle the question beyond controversy.

Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1827.

From the Port Folio, for Jan. 1810.

JUNIUS.

"Curs'd be the verse, how smooth soe'er it flow,
That tends to make one honest man my foe."

With the fame of Junius the world has resounded. This fame, acquired in a period of turbulence and faction, still gives currency, after a lapse of forty years, to a work, the basis of which is a relentless malice, a work the objects and topics whereof have, with few exceptions, ceased to interest mankind.

After the lapse of time which I have mentioned, Junius is still unknown. Respecting no writer whatever has public curiosity ever been more highly excited. The most unceasing and laboured efforts have been made to discover him. All have been totally ineffectual. He still eludes, and, for a reason which I shall suggest, will probably forever elude, the utmost endeavours of the curious. Numbers of persons, probably a dozen at least, have been at different times named as the author. Those who have brought forward Single Speech Hamilton, Lord Sackville, Boyd, Lord Chatham, Sir Philip Francis, &c. &c. as the writers of Junius, have, in support of their respective hypotheses, adduced various secret anecdotes, and mysterious circumstances, some of them sufficiently plausible to acquire credit for a time. Each tale has had its day and its partisans, but finally sunk with the others into one common cave of oblivion. The uncertainty is at this moment no less than when the officers of justice beset Woodfall's doors in quest of the author or publisher.

Surprise has been expressed at this concealment. It has been regarded as wonderful, that "the love of Fame," which, according to Young, is "the universal passion," has not induced the writer to come forward, and claim the laurels that have so long courted his acceptance. Junius has been regarded as a most marked exception to the position of the author of the Night Thoughts.

This idea is incorrect. Junius appears to have had a much more accurate idea of the intrinsic merits of his productions than his cotemporaries generally. He well knew, what must be obvious to every person who reads these celebrated letters with impartiality, and free from the bias of prejudice—He well knew, I say, that their chief, almost their only merit, consists in a style most elaborately refined and elegant; and that whatever

laurels he might acquire for his brows, would but poorly compensate for the reprobation which his rancour would attract. Perhaps, further, a discovery of his name would enhance the public opinion of his malignity. Perhaps it might shed strong light upon some circumstance which would more fully evince the baseness of the writer—some sacred confidences infamously violated, some important favours perfidiously repaid with outrageous malice. He did not choose to sacrifice his heart to his head. This, I trust, plausibly enough accounts for his long concealment. If this hypothesis be admitted, his address is on a level with his virulence.

"A word at parting" on the subject of his talents. I believe they have had more than their due share of veneration. I have never seen or heard any remarks on the length of time spent upon the letters of Junius. Yet this appears a proper subject of consideration, and must, to a certain degree, affect a just estimate of the abilities of the writer. Suppose two works of exactly equal merit to be produced by A and B. Suppose A to employ three hours upon his, and B to require three weeks for exactly the same quantity. I think it can hardly be doubted, that in a distribution of the palm for intellectual powers, the claim of A would very far outweigh that of B.

Let us try Junius's claims with a little reference to this position, and I think it cannot fail to lower the idea of his talents considerably in public estimation.

There are in the collection sixty-nine letters. Five are signed by William Draper, three by John Horne, sixteen by Philo Junius, and forty-four by Junius. The time embraced in the publication is exactly three years, as will appear by the annexed statement.

I.	Jan. 21, 1769.	Junius.	XVIII.	July 29, 1769,	Junius.
II.	26,	W. Draper.	XIX.	Aug. 14,	Philo Junius.
III.	Feb. 7,	Junius.	XX.	8,	Junius.
IV.	17,	W. Draper.	XXI.	22,	Junius.
V.	21,	Junius.	XXII.	Sept. 4,	Philo Junius.
VI.	27,	W. Draper.	XXIII.	19,	Junius.
VII.	March 3,	Junius.	XXIV.	14,	W. Draper.
VIII.	18,	Junius.	XXV.	25,	Junius.
IX.	April 10,	Junius.	XXVI.	Oct. 7,	W. Draper.
X.	21,	Junius.	XXVII.	13,	Junius.
XI.	24,	Junius.	XXVIII.	20,	Junius.
XII.	May 30,	Junius.	XXIX.	19,	Philo Junius.
XIII.	June 12,	Philo Junius.	XXX.	17,	Junius.
XIV.	22,	Philo Junius.	XXXI.	Nov. 14,	Philo Junius.
XV.	July 8,	Junius.	XXXII.	15,	Junius.
XVI.	19,	Junius.	XXXIII.	29,	Junius.
XVII.	Aug. 1,	Philo Junius.	XXXIV.	Dec. 12,	Junius.

XXXV.	Dec. 10, 1769,	Junius.
XXXVI.	Feb. 14, 1770,	Junius.
XXXVII.	March 19,	Junius.
XXXVIII.	April 3,	Junius.
XXXIX.	May 28,	Junius.
XL.	Aug. 22,	Junius.
XLI.	Nov. 14,	Junius.
XLII.	Jan. 30, 1771,	Junius.
XLIII.	Feb. 6,	Philo Junius.
XLIV.	April 22,	Junius.
XLV.	May 1,	Philo Junius.
XLVI.	22,	Philo Junius.
XLVII.	25,	Philo Junius.
XLVIII.	28,	Philo Junius.
XLIX.	June 22,	Junius.
L.	July 9,	Junius.
LI.	13,	Horne.
LII.	24,	Junius.
LIII.	July 31, 1771,	Horne.
LIV.	Aug. 15,	Junius.
LV.	26,	Philo Junius.
LVI.	17,	Horne.
LVII.	Sept. 28,	Junius.
LVIII.	30,	Junius.
LVIX.	Oct. 5,	Junius.
LX.	15,	Philo Junius.
LXI.	17,	Philo Junius.
LXII.	18,	Philo Junius.
LXIII.	20,	Friend of Junius.
LXIV.	Nov. 2,	Junius.
LXV.	2,	Junius.
LXVI.	9,	Junius.
LXVII.	27,	Junius.
LXVIII.	Jan. 21, 1772,	Junius.
LXIX.	No date,	Junius.

To those even moderately conversant with literary labours it is unnecessary to state how elegantly a writer of even mediocre talents may polish and refine his productions, when he devotes to a column or two of a newspaper the labour of one, two, three, or four weeks. It is not to be wondered at, that with so much of the *limæ labor*, as Junius bestowed upon them, they remain models of the elegance, force, and refinement of the English language.

I have the less diffidence in writing thus of Junius, because I am happy to find that one of the most elegant of the modern English historians, Belsham, a most unequivocal advocate and friend of Liberty, has pronounced sentence upon this writer in these words: "When a man brings forward anonymous accusations of this nature, and basely shrinks from the subsequent investigation, he stands recorded to all future times a liar, an assassin, and a coward."—*History of Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 290.

Philadelphia, Dec. 15, 1809.

From the same.

THEOPHRASTUS.

A STORY is told of Theophrastus, from which an inference has been drawn, that it does not appear to me to warrant. I submit my objections to the reader.

The story is, that Theophrastus, who imagined he spoke the Attic dialect in its utmost purity, went into a market-place in Athens, and accosting one of the women there stationed, mis-

pronounced some word, whereby she directly, to his surprise, pronounced him a foreigner. It has always been thence presumed that even the lowest of the Athenian populace were so well educated as to be minutely acquainted with all the niceties of the language.

This, like thousands of other ancient stories, is entirely fallacious. Let us test it by our own market women. Suppose a Cockney was to ask a market woman for a peck of *happles*, an Irishman for a pound of *buthther*, a Scotchman for a *pund* or *twa* of beef, a New Englander for some *keeow's* milk, or a Virginian to *hollor* for some *tobaccor*, she would directly pronounce them all foreigners; but would it be fair to deduce from her accurate knowledge on this point, that she had received a refined education, or even ever gone to school?

Philadelphia, Dec. 20, 1809.

TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

ROBERT FULTON.

"Hos ego versiculos feci. Alter tulit" præmia:
"Sic vos—non vobis—nidificatis, aves:
"Sic vos—non vobis—vellera fertis, oves:
"Sic vos—non vobis—mellificatis, apes:
"Sic vos—non vobis—fertis aratra, boves."—VIRGIL.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—

I respectfully invite your serious attention to a subject interesting to every generous and magnanimous individual, disposed to duly appreciate the merits, and adequately reward the services, of those whom heaven has endowed with genius, and who have devoted that genius to the noblest work that can employ time and talents, that is, to add to the sum of human happiness. I trust I address myself to a description of citizens not less respectable for numbers and influence in society, than for their strong regard for national character.

It is very doubtful whether any man ever conferred more solid benefits on his fellow men than Fulton, by the perfection of the invention of propelling boats with steam. Without entering into a comparison, (which could answer no valuable purpose,) with Columbus—the inventor of the art of printing—or any

other of the great benefactors of mankind—suffice it to say, that he holds a conspicuous rank among that illustrious class.

To certain portions of our country, particularly those depending on, or connected with, the navigation of the Mississippi, however remotely, this grand invention has produced the most inappreciable advantages. It has accelerated the improvement of the western states a century. The mind is lost in astonishment at the contrast between the present situation of that navigation, and what it was a few years since. Formerly a passage downwards required a month, and the ascending navigation was so difficult, that many of the traders preferred taking passage from New Orleans to New York or Philadelphia, and returning over land, at an oppressive expense of time and money. At present a passage from Cincinnati to New Orleans, and back, requires only from fifteen to twenty days, and costs from fifty to sixty dollars. It is difficult to calculate the saving of the expenses of freight on the immense amount of goods conveyed to Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, from New Orleans; but it is probably half a million of dollars annually.

The population of the western country has probably been increased a third or a fourth by the facility of intercourse afforded by steamboats.

Now let us suppose for a moment, that Fulton, as soon as he had fully ascertained the practicability of his project, had made an offer to any body of men, duly authorized by congress or a state legislature, to treat with him, to propel boats by steam against wind and tide, at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour, provided he was paid a million of dollars on the satisfactory completion of his plan, "no cure, no pay;" would it not be regarded as the height of folly and madness to have refused his offer? That the purchase would have been cheap at treble the amount will not admit of a doubt.

From this view of the subject, let us turn our attention to what has been the requital for this invaluable benefaction—and here we must heave a sigh over the fate of genius, which is doomed to labour for the general benefit of mankind, and debarred from partaking of the fruits of its labours. Virgil had this class of beings in his eye, when he wrote the verses prefixed to these paragraphs. Great geniuses "make the honey"—but it is devoured by the drones of society.

The enormous expenses attending the various experiments on this great improvement—the long delay in completing it—

the numerous difficulties and embarrassments Fulton experienced—and his premature death, at the period when he was about to reap a rich reward for his labours, put it out of his power to make that comfortable provision for his family, which his splendid talents would have secured, had they been devoted to any other congenial object. The annulling his patent deprived his heirs of a rich inheritance—and while they are, it is said, in straitened circumstances, hundreds are making splendid fortunes by his discovery—and thousands and tens of thousands of people are enjoying all the comforts of life, in towns and villages, which are springing up in places which would otherwise have remained deserts. And there is scarcely a district of the United States, that does not mediately or immediately benefit by the invention.

And do not honour and gratitude, the brightest ornaments in the escutcheon of nations, loudly call on us to make an effort to render his family a portion of the debt due to their founder? So mighty a debt can never be fully repaid—but something may be done to elevate our character, by insuring comfort and independence to the descendants of a man to whose memory so much is due.

The simplest mode of accomplishing this very desirable object, would be by an arrangement among the proprietors of steamboats generally, to make a small addition to the price of passage for one year—the whole to be converted into a fund for the benefit of Fulton's children. Perhaps motives of generosity might impel some of those proprietors who are making large fortunes, by steamboats, to devote a very small amount of the passage money, say two or three or four per cent. for the same period, to this laudable purpose.

These ideas are very respectfully submitted for public consideration. They have had the approbation of some enlightened citizens, to whom they have been communicated. Should they fail of answering the desired purpose, I shall at least, "have discharged my conscience," by the suggestion of the measure.

In order to ascertain the general feeling on this subject, I venture to propose, that a few citizens who are actuated by motives of gratitude and generosity, and disposed to regard this plan favourably, meet together—consider how far it is feasible—if so deemed, consult on the best means of effecting it—and present it to the public in its most practicable and acceptable

form. It could scarcely fail of a success honourable to the nation.*

PHILO-FULTON.

Philadelphia, March 17, 1828.

When this project was announced, it met with great approbation, and would probably have proved successful, but that Mr. Dale, who had married Mr. Fulton's widow, and was guardian to his children, in the public papers expressed his disapprobation of it—probably expecting some magnificent appropriation from congress. By that body, it is to be regretted, his application was rejected.

(CIRCULAR.)

To the Members of the American Philosophical Society.

GENTLEMEN,

Sincerely desirous to promote the reputation of the American Philosophical Society, of which I have the honour to be a member—convinced that a proposition now before it, respecting the mode of publishing its transactions in future, is of vital importance to its usefulness and respectability—and finding that it meets with a very strenuous opposition from some respectable and influential gentlemen, I wish to place before the members individually the proposition itself—the facts and arguments in its favour—and the objections alleged against it, that they may vote understandingly on the subject, when a decision takes place.

PLAN.

To publish in 8vo.—in numbers, nearly of the size of the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews, as often as sufficient matter offers;—the printing to proceed *pari passu* with the decision of the publishing committee;—and the authors, under certain restrictions, to be furnished with 25 copies each, of their respective communications within 15, 20, or at most, in the case of

* A writer in one of the papers suggested an alteration in this plan, which would be an improvement—it was to appropriate one day, say the 4th of July, on which the whole of the profits of the steamboats, throughout the United States, owned by such liberal persons, as might unite in the plan, should be devoted to the benefit of the heirs of Fulton.

long articles, within thirty days of the decision of the committee. The latter part of the plan is not essential, and may or not be adopted without affecting the residue. The objections against it deserve serious consideration. Communications thus furnished to the authors, may be sent to foreign societies, and published abroad, before the appearance of our volumes.

Arguments in Favour of this Plan.

Much of the usefulness and reputation of a philosophical society depend on its publications. The more frequent they are, provided a rigorous scrutiny be observed as to the merits of the communications, the more useful the society, and the higher its reputation.

The more frequent the publication, the stronger the inducement to authors to contribute their lucubrations.

The system of management heretofore pursued, has been admirably calculated to repress the ambition of authors—to exclude their writings from the transactions of this society—and to diminish the interest and usefulness of the transactions.

The Society originated in 1769. Fifty-five years have since elapsed—and only seven volumes have been published, averaging one volume to about eight years—a degree of torpor probably without example, and discreditable to the talent of Pennsylvania. This could not have arisen from dearth of talents, considering the number of eminent men who have flourished here during the existence of the society—and also, that for a considerable time there was scarcely any similar society in the country.

The following is the Order of Publication.

Vol. I. 1771—Vol. II. 1786—Vol. III. 1793—Vol. IV. 1799.—Vol. V. 1802—Vol. VI. 1804 and 1809—Vol. VII. 1818—and the eighth Vol. will appear in 1824.*

* *July*, 1830.—This volume was not published till December 31st, 1825, Since which time (four years and a half) a volume has been in progress, and is at present nearly ready for publication. Thus the whole number of volumes, in sixty-one years, is nine—or one in rather less than seven years. The ninth volume, still in quarto, has been issued in five livraisons—one of 63 pages, in 1826—one of 187, in 1827—two of 132, in 1828—and the fifth, which will close the volume, will appear in a few days. The present plan is, doubtless, superior to the former one; the authors receive for their friends, twenty or twenty-five copies of their communications, as soon as they are printed. But the quarto form is a dead weight that hangs like a mill-stone

Thus in twenty years, from the year 1804 to the present time, the society has published but a volume and a half, containing 760 pages, or 38 pages per annum!!! If this do not prove the necessity of a radical change of system, no point ever was or ever will be proved.

The following table will show the length to which the "hope deferred" of the authors has been carried. The numbers on the left hand denote the order of arrangement in the respective volumes.

Vol. VI. Part II. published July 1, 1809.	Vol. VII. published Feb. 1818.
No. 32. read Oct. 5, 1804.	No. 2. read Nov. 14, 1810!
33. —— July 20, 1804.	5. —— March 15, 1811!
34. —— Nov. 16, 1804.	6. —— Feb. 1812!
35. —— Nov. 16, 1804.	7. —— Oct. 1813!
36. —— Nov. 16, 1804.	8. —— Nov. 1809!
37. —— Sundry times, 1805.	9. —— May 20, 1814.
38. —— Oct. 18, 1805.	10. —— July 15, 1814.
39. —— Feb. 7, 1806.	11. —— April 21, 1815.
40. —— June 20, 1806.	12. —— Nov. 3, 1815.
41. —— Aug. 1, 1806.	13. —— Feb. 16, 1816.
42. —— Aug. 15, 1806.	14. —— May 3, 1816.
43. —— Aug. 15, 1806.	15. —— May 17, 1816.
44. —— March 6, 1807.	20. —— June, 1814.
45. —— Aug. 15, 1806.	21. —— April 19, 1811.
46. —— Feb. 10, 1807.	22. —— Oct. 4, 1816.
47. —— April 17, 1807.	23. —— Nov. 1816.
48. —— April 25, 1807.	27. —— Jan. 19, 1816.
49. —— Aug. 25, 1807.	29. —— July, 1795!!!!
50. —— Nov. 6, 1807.	30. —— Nov. 4, 1814.
	32. —— Dec. 1814.
	34. —— Nov. 15, 1816.

Had it been intended to discourage communications, what better mode could have been adopted? An author who sends an essay to this society, even if it receive their approbation, and be ever so well calculated to be useful, may have to wait 3, 4, 5, or 6 years, before it makes its appearance—and all the honour he hoped to derive from it, and which it is calculated to confer, may be transferred to another, who, seizing his ideas from the recital of his communication before the society, or from conversation, may send a furtive essay to some other society, in which parturition is not so very tedious a process. By the very long delay, moreover, the world is deprived of the benefit of such communications as are calculated to extend the bounds of science, and advance the progress of the arts. Under such circumstances, it is not wonderful so few communications

about the neck of the Society. It is remarkable, that eight or ten years before I offered this proposition, a resolution was passed to publish in octavo, and not rescinded when the subsequent volume went to press in *quarto*.

are made to the society—the wonder is, that any authors are to be found to submit to such delays. It is no exaggeration to say, that there is more temptation to an American author to send his communications to London, Dublin, or Edinburgh, (and some members of the society have actually pursued this plan) or even to Stockholm, Petersburgh, or Calcutta, than to the American Philosophical Society. In six months he might have a copy of his essay from any one of the three first places—in twelve from the fourth or fifth—and in eighteen from Calcutta. Whereas, I repeat, he may have to wait thrice eighteen months for a copy in the city where his domicil lies!—Four years are a tolerably fair average for the appearance of a communication in our transactions.

To the quarto form, to which some of the members appear to be devotedly attached, the objections are powerful, and far outweigh all the arguments in its favour.

1. It requires twice as long to furnish matter for a quarto as for an octavo.

2. It is twice as expensive—and the difficulty of procuring an adequate subscription is at least three times as great. Three or four persons would subscribe for an octavo number, of the proposed extent, at 125 or 150 cents, for one who would subscribe for a quarto at five dollars. Published in numbers at those prices, a subscription might be filled without difficulty in a week. In fact, it would not be beyond the resources of the society, to publish at its own expense, without any subscription.

3. Quartos are inconvenient, unpopular, and unsaleable. During between thirty and forty years that I have carried on business as a bookseller, a considerable portion of the time on as extensive a scale at least, as any man in this country, I have not sold forty quarto volumes, except Bibles—and have no recollection of having ever sold a copy of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Whereas, in the 8vo. form, they would be an object with the booksellers—and would probably be generally ordered by public libraries, and frequently by private gentlemen. Copies of valuable quartos have remained on my shelves for two or three years—whereas, of the same works, when subsequently published in 8vo., I have sold 50, 100, or 150 copies.

Against the proposed alteration of the size, I have heard but three objections, which appear as dust in the balance.

1. That, as we receive quarto volumes from so many societies, we ought to send quartos in return!!

2. That having lately begun a new series, it is improper to make a change so soon.

3. That it is disadvantageous to fold plates in 8vo.

Were the value of books to be decided by weight or size, the first objection might deserve some attention. But as the value depends on the contents, the objection falls to the ground. And it is invalid, even were Philosophical Societies collections of huckstering traders, resolved to lose nothing of weight or measure. For if the proposed plan be adopted, there cannot be a doubt that there will be abundance of matter, to publish probably two volumes in a year, or, at all events, three in two years; and thus the societies with which we exchange, will receive three or four times the quantity they have received heretofore.

The second objection has little weight. If the disadvantages of the quarto form, and the superiority of the octavo, are only half as great as I have stated—and I feel confident, that on a candid examination, they will not be at all controverted—a change cannot be too soon made. That it will take place ultimately, cannot be doubted. The only subject of regret is, that the mania of copying European examples, led to the adoption of the quarto form originally, so very ill suited to the circumstances of the country; and has prevented the change for such a length of time. Twelve or fifteen years have elapsed, since a large number of the members were persuaded of the superiority of the proposed size, and were extremely desirous of a change—but their efforts were baffled by the tenacity with which, as at present, a small number of influential members ardently supported the old system.

In reply to the third objection it may be observed that large plates accompany octavos in every part of Europe, and most of our plates may, without any disadvantage, be generally contracted. Or if the plates be too large, and not susceptible of contraction, they may be bound separately in the atlas form.

Some members, opposed to the 8vo. form, offer a sort of compromise, that is, to publish in quarto numbers. This mode, it is true, would lessen the objections to the present plan. But it would be a miserable palliative. Quarto pamphlets are still more inconvenient than quarto books. For usefulness, which ought to be the primary object of the society, the quarto

form is liable to insuperable objections. Were books published for parade and show, the folio would be preferable.

Your obedient, humble servant,
MATHEW CAREY.

Philadelphia, April 4, 1834.

Octavo Transactions in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

Of the Bath and West of England Society, 14 vols. in 31 years.
Of the Economical Society of Berne, 17 vols. in 11 years.
Of the Dublin Society, 8 vols. in 11 years.
Of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, 7 vols. in 13 years.
Of the Royal Antiquarian Society of France, 3 vols. in 4 years.
Of the Swedish Royal Academy, 43 vols. in 43 years.
Of the Academy of Sciences at Turin, 6 vols. in 16 years.
Journal of the Sciences and Arts, 15 vols. in 7 years.
Asiatic Researches republished in London in 8vo.
Of the Batavian Literary Society.
Of the Dutch Philosophical Society at Haerlem, 30 vols. in 39 years.
Of the London Society for the promotion of arts, manufactures, and commerce, 40 vols. in 40 years.

(CIRCULAR.)

To the Members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN,

Permit me to congratulate you on the publication of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a work which reflects credit on the writers, by its contents, and on the Society, by the promptitude of its completion, and the handsome manner in which it is presented to the public.

This publication recalls to mind a plan which I formed when a bookseller, many years since, (when I contemplated making an effort to establish an historical society)—but which, like many other of my plans, has never been carried into operation—a plan by which all that is valuable respecting the antiquities of this country, may, in a few years, be preserved and handed down to remote posterity. Its great recommendation is, that although eminently beneficial, it is simple and perfectly practicable, with moderate exertions, and with little or no pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the Society.

I. Let a committee of the Society be appointed, composed of members zealous and persevering, and qualified to judge of rare books respecting the early history and antiquities of the country, worthy of preservation.

II. Let them select, in the first instance, half a dozen to commence with.

III. Let an address be drawn up, and signed by a large number of the most respectable and influential members, stating the objects and advantages of this plan, and inviting public patronage. Much will depend on the standing and numbers of the signers. There ought to be at least fifteen.

IV. Let your booksellers, (M'Carty & Davis are well calculated for this purpose,) issue proposals, prefixed to the address —and make exertions to procure subscriptions, of which I am fully persuaded a sufficient number, say two hundred and fifty or three hundred, may be secured in a very few weeks. This number would warrant the commencement of the undertaking.

V. Let the works be printed in a handsome style, like the Memoirs, of from 350 to 450 pages each volume, as circumstances may dictate, and sold at about $2 per volume in boards.

VI. Let a volume be published every two months, that is, six volumes, amounting to about $12, per annum.

VII. One or two volumes each year, ought to be composed of the choicest ancient pamphlets, of which there is a superabundance in the City Library, of some whereof there are probably no duplicates in existence.

VIII. No subscriber to be regarded as bound beyond the first year.

Of the success of this plan, if seriously undertaken, I feel the most perfect confidence. It is well worth a trial, which may be made at the mere expense of a few dollars for subscription papers, and the trouble of writing an address. If it succeed, the advantages will be great and numerous. Numbers of invaluable works may, in this mode, in a few years, be disseminated throughout our country, and secured for posterity, single copies of which are now buried in libraries, many of them unknown even to the studious, and many which would in time be irrecoverably lost.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, after the first year, the publication would be so lucrative as to warrant the publishers to be-

stow 50 or 100 copies of each work to the Society, in return for their patronage. Almost every public or social library in the Union would probably subscribe. Every legislature would, in all likelihood, patronize the undertaking, by a subscription for half a dozen or more copies. A sale of probably 40, 50, or 100 copies annually, might be secured in Europe, after the undertaking had been fully established.*

Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1826.

P. S. I shall submit this plan to some literary gentlemen in New York, to the Boston Athenæum, and to the American Antiquarian Society. Should any or all of them adopt it, a proper understanding ought to take place, to prevent two editions of the same work.

(CIRCULAR.)

To the Presidents and Directors of the different Banks of the City of Philadelphia.

Gentlemen,—The importance of the subject of this communication renders apology unnecessary. Even should you reject my suggestions, you will, I hope, excuse this freedom.

The excitement of the public mind, and the alarm generally spread, has created, and will extend a desire to convert bank notes into specie, in order to guard against any contingency.

To meet such a crisis, two modes present themselves—A free curtailment of discounts—or a suspension of specie payments. Each requires most attentive consideration.

It is easy to see that the first measure cannot be carried much farther without producing the most serious and pernicious results.

The resources of our citizens are derived principally from the southward and westward. The balance has long been, and will probably continue, ruinously against us to the eastward.

* It is to be regretted, that this simple, unexpensive, and highly useful project was not adopted by the Society. The *reason* assigned, as I have been informed, was, that it would divert the attention of the Society from the publication of the valuable MSS. which it possesses!! It was offered to the consideration of the Society, as appears, in Jan. 1826, and there have since been published three livraisons, each about 240 pages, that is, about 180 pages per annum.

The measure adopted by our banks (resulting from imperious necessity) of refusing deposits of southern and western notes, closes the principal channels whence supplies to meet engagements were calculated on. And even if southern notes were as current here as formerly, the recent events will oblige our creditor citizens to indulge their debtors in that quarter.

The curtailments at bank for some time past, and the total stoppage of business, have so far narrowed the resources of our citizens, as to incapacitate them from aiding each other on emergencies, in the usual manner in such cases. It requires not the spirit of prophecy to foresee the effect of any further pressure.

The other alternative now comes under consideration. It is one of those bold, decisive measures which nothing but an extraordinary crisis could either suggest or justify.

It, however, wears not the revolting features of novelty. It saved England from bankruptcy; and has been recently tried, and found adequate to its object, at New Orleans. I feel fully satisfied that within a month it will be no longer a matter of choice.—Then it will not be one-half so efficacious as now. It will be, to use a homely proverb, shutting the door when the steed is stolen.

The refusal of one or two banks, to unite in this measure, ought not to prevent the others from adopting it. The bank that longest refuses to accede, will suffer the most inconvenience.* A FRIEND TO PUBLIC CREDIT.

August 29, 1814.

P. S. I adopt this mode of communication to prevent increasing an alarm, already too great.

Preface to "Letters to the Directors of the Banks of Philadelphia, on the Pernicious Consequences of the Prevailing System of Reducing the Amount of Bills Discounted."

Philadelphia, March 27, 1816.

Impressed with a strong and irresistible conviction, that the banking operations of this city are at present predicated on a

* The payment of specie was suspended next day. Unless my memory greatly deceives me, the Bank of Pennsylvania had about a million of dollars in specie in January, 1814—and on the day when the payment of specie was suspended, there was not more than about $80,000—a sum not equal to what was withdrawn in three or four of the preceding days.

system and views radically erroneous, and eminently pernicious, I avail myself of the right every freeman possesses, of submitting the subject to public consideration. That it has already done irreparable injury to manufactures, trade and commerce, and that we are running rapidly in a course which leads to the destruction of the prospects and the hopes of great numbers of our citizens, I am fully satisfied. My objects, therefore, are, to prove the existence of error, and to persuade those who have the management of our banking concerns, to arrest their steps before it be too late.

I am not very sanguine in the expectation of success. There are occasionally moral epidemics which spread through communities, and bid defiance to all the attempts of reason and argument to cure them. They close the eyes—stop the ears—and obscure the understanding. And I confess such an epidemic appears to me to prevail at present. There is one proof, cogent and irresistible. It is, that the boards of directors of the banks, sober, grave, and many of them intelligent and estimable men, are tampering with, and trying a depletory system on, patients, already exhausted by phlebotomy, and who only require a liberal and generous treatment, to restore them to perfect sanity.

Previous to commencing this pamphlet, and during its progress in my hands, prudence and discretion have been constantly exerting themselves to repress my zeal, and to deter me from the undertaking. They have incessantly spread before my eyes the risque of offending those powerful bodies, the directors of banks, who have so many opportunities of making their indignation be felt, and some of whom may not be above the mean and malignant desire of availing themselves of those opportunities.

To the soundness of these suggestions, I most freely assent. It is plain and palpable. And were I to consult my own personal advantage or comfort, I should bow down in humble submission to their authority. I am well aware of the risque I run. I know that if there be at any of the boards of the banks any portion of malice or resentment (and were there ever ten or twelve men assembled together without a portion of malice and resentment?) it will be roused into activity to persecute the man, who has dared to arraign their institutions at the bar of the public, and to accuse them of gross errors, which have produced a fertile crop of misfortunes and distress to our citizens.

With a perfect knowledge of this contingent result, I commit myself to the public.

Another consequence, equally clear, is present to my view. One bank director, actuated by malice and resentment, would do me more injury in a day, than one hundred of those whose cause I undertake to defend, would do me good in seven years. The malice of the one would be strong, lasting, insatiable, and as vigilant as Argus, with his hundred eyes, to gratify his spleen. The friendship or the gratitude of the others would be cold, torpid, and lifeless. This is nothing new. Such has been—such is—and such ever will be, the miserable biped, man.

But as a compensation for what malice or malignity may attempt or effect—I indulge the fond, the cheering hope, that I may be instrumental in limiting the operations of a destructive system, which menaces so many with ruin; that I may be the humble means of snatching from impending fate some of the victims whom error and folly are prepared to immolate; of preserving comfortable homes for the numerous families of those who are menaced with bankruptcy by a perseverance in the present system. Should I be thus fortunate, I shall bless the day when I first took up the pen. But should I even fail, I cannot be deprived of the high gratification of having made the attempt. "We cannot command success; we will do more; we will endeavour to deserve it."

Government errs, or is supposed to err. It is arraigned before the bar of the public. Its every act is scanned unmercifully. The castigation of the press is dealt forth with rigour. And shall the banks commit grievous errors, deeply affecting the prosperity of the community—and persevere in them, long after the full experience of their consequences—and yet it be held dangerous or criminal to investigate those errors—to develop their consequences—and to point out the remedy for the evils they have inflicted?

This may be sound doctrine with others. It is to me heresy. I believe all public institutions are amenable to the public for the faithful discharge of their duties. I believe that their errors and misconduct are fair subjects of animadversion. They ought to be treated with decency and decorum, even while the censures which they merit, are freely bestowed on them. And I trust that I have not violated the rules of propriety in this discussion. There are many individuals among the boards of directors for whom I entertain the most profound respect, and

who are among the most estimable members of society. But it requires little knowledge of the world to be satisfied, that the wisdom or policy of the proceedings of public bodies too frequently bears little proportion to the intelligence or goodness of the individuals who compose them. Public bodies, a large proportion of which were wise and intelligent men, have frequently, and I might almost say too generally, displayed as much folly and error, as a set of arrant bedlamites could have done. In proof of this position, look at the deliberative assemblies of France, under their varied nomenclature—at the parliament of England—at the proceedings of congress—at those of the legislatures of the different states, and at the wild course steered by our banks since the peace.

With many directors of banks, the grand and indeed the only object is, what they term "to guard the interests of the institution"—"to take care of themselves," i. e. of the bank. To this paramount rule every thing must bend.—Correctly understood, it would be a sound rule. But it is a miserable, mistaken policy, to suppose that the interests of banks are best secured by the rigour and unrelenting severity which some of these gentlemen preach up, and which is so often exercised. Such a system is ruinous to individuals dependent on the banks—and often pernicious, as it ought to be, to the banks themselves. Pity any bank or banker, destitute of compassion or lenity towards persons in difficulty, should not pay the penalty to which want of feeling and humanity has so far a claim.

No. Liberality is nine times out of ten sound policy in banking institutions.—There are numbers of persons throughout the United States, now basking in the sunshine of prosperity, who at some period of their lives have been involved and embarrassed, and in danger of bankruptcy, in consequence of losses or disappointments—and who, had the banks frowned on them at such critical periods, would have been irretrievably ruined. Their spirits sunk—and they were ready to give way. But the indulgence of the banks, and the timely aid of kind friends rescued them. Their spirits rose again. They faced the storm. They braved it. The sun of prosperity once more shone on them. They retrieved their losses—and now look back with delight on their escape from the rocks, and quicksands, and vortices, that were ready to swallow them up—and with gratitude on those who were the happy instruments of their preservation. [July 7, 1830. This is a true picture of the case of the writer of these pages.]

There are, on the other hand, now living, many persons ruined, who would be in the enjoyment of prosperity, had they experienced the same indulgence. But it is too rarely exercised. The moment a man meets with a serious misfortune—the moment he is involved through failure of remittances or otherwise—the banks too frequently frown on him. The rule of "guarding the institution"—of "taking care of themselves,"—regulates their proceedings. And instead of affording further aid, they withdraw what they had formerly accorded. And thus a person who has by unavoidable misfortune been driven to the verge of the precipice, is hurled downwards beyond the power of rescue. There are, as I said, signal exceptions. Pity they are so few.

I could have rendered this pamphlet more interesting—I could have made large additions to the facts it contains—I could have more completely enforced my arguments, had I regarded myself at liberty to use the information my situation as a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania afforded. I believe I might have so done without impropriety. I am not in fact satisfied but that it was a duty. But the board of directors of that institution entertain a different opinion. On mature consideration, therefore, to avoid cavil, I determined not to use a single fact of which I became possessed by being a director.—Every thing in the work is derived from sources open to every man in the community as well as to me.

If the system pursued by the banks have been wise, prudent, politic, and worthy of such powerful institutions—if it have tended to foster trade and commerce—to encourage and patronize industry—to answer the ends proposed by the establishment of banks,—no portion of the merit belongs to me. I do not pretend to deck myself with plumes to which I have no just claim. I plead guilty of a failure of my duty as a bank director, to support it. But if it have unduly raised prices at one time, and as unduly lowered them at another—if it have palsied industry—depressed trade and commerce—unhinged the prosperity of our city and its citizens—if it have made the rich richer, and the poor poorer—if it have greatly multiplied the existing financial embarrassments of the nation—then I can fairly wash my hands of the consequences. It has met with my earnest, unequivocal, unceasing reprobation. I have given it all the feeble opposition in the power of an insulated and uninfluential individual. And nothing that has as yet occurred

has had the least tendency to reconcile me to it, or to make me regret the course I have pursued.

I have prefixed my name to this little work—not that I court persecution or seek reputation by it—for persecution is very undesirable, and what reputation can be derived from a mere pamphlet? My reason is, that I am not, at this period of life, disposed to publish any thing I am either afraid or ashamed to avow—and that it is proper the directors of the banks should know the person who is responsible to the public for the truth or falsehood of the allegations advanced.

It too frequently happens that plans extremely plausible, and promising beneficial results, eventuate in injury. The recent arrangement of the banks, whereby they pay interest on the balances due to each other, is of this description. It cannot be denied that it appears fair and honourable. But its operation on the public is highly pernicious. It holds out temptations to distress the community. For whatever bank is harsh and unaccommodating—or presses hard on its debtors—will raise large balances against the other banks, which act on a more liberal scale, and will levy heavy contributions on them for interest. Another consequence of this system is, that a bank whose proceedings are regulated by disregard to public convenience or individual safety, in proportion as it diminishes the amount of its bills discounted, transfers the risque from itself to the more liberal banks; in other words, it becomes the creditor of its sister institutions, for the whole amount of the accommodation it withdraws from trade and commerce, unless the other banks follow the example; which motives of self-interest prompt them to do. And thus the pressure of one bank upon the community, induces the pressure of all the others. It is easy to calculate the pernicious consequences of such a state of things.

ON BANKING.

Philadelphia, April 30, 1816.

> "Man, proud man, dress'd in a little brief authority,
> Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
> As make e'en angels weep."

The banking subject is nearly exhausted. Yet I am tempted once more to travel over the beaten track. It may do good. It

cannot, I hope, do harm.—This will surely justify the undertaking.

The destroying angel is abroad. He has smote the land with calamity through the dire infatuation of a few boards of bank directors.* An awful paralysis has seized upon industry, exertion, enterprise, and prosperity. Arts, manufactures, trade, and commerce, are nearly laid prostrate. Bankruptcy with her haggard form, has seized upon many of our traders; and stares many other most useful and estimable citizens in the face. Prospects the most exhilarating and delightful, are blasted. Scenes of happiness, on which heaven must have looked down with complacence, are changed into scenes of gloom and dismay. The fearful desolation has spread to the western extremities of the nation. But although immense mischief has been done, much may still be done, or by proper means prevented.—It is true, that those of our merchants and traders, whose means and resources were slender, have been unable to stand the shock. They have either fallen victims already, or else have received such mortal wounds as have stamped the seal of destruction on their foreheads. To these no change of system can afford relief. But there are numbers of our citizens, of rather more robust means and credit, who, though grievously wounded, may yet be restored by kind treatment. To them a

* It is a melancholy fact, that to the wild and fantastic projects of a few men, perhaps not half a dozen, may be fairly ascribed the chief part of the existing calamities. Infatuated by crude and ill-digested schemes for restoring the credit of bank notes, they urged and induced the banks of which they are directors, and in which their influence is transcendently great, to adopt the *kill him or cure him* system of violent curtailment of discounts. Like all other projectors, they implicitly believed in the efficacy of their scheme, which they pledged themselves would purge off all the feculent humours of the disordered currency, and restore it to perfect sanity. Their views being adopted by some of the banks, the others were coerced into the same course. The miserable project has had a fair trial. It has ended in the utter disappointment of its authors. When their fatal and fatuitous counsels were adopted, western and southern notes were at 2, 3, 4 and 5 per cent. discount. Their plans, they said, were to raise their value. But lo! western are now from eight to eleven—and southern from five to ten per cent. discount. Such has been the wonderful success of this visionary scheme! And city bank notes, measured by specie, which is the standard these gentlemen have adopted, are still "*found wanting*" in the same degree as formerly. From this wretched system I aver, and it cannot be too often repeated, more mischief has resulted to this city and its inhabitants, in nine months of peace, than from a raging warfare of thirty months.

change of the system pursued by the banks would operate like a heaven-directed pilot to a vessel in a heavy gale, labouring to reach her destined port. Let us then at length arouse ourselves like men. Let us try to turn aside the weapon of destruction. Let us make an effort to cicatrize the deep and festering gashes it has inflicted on an unoffending people.

The torpor and servility that prevail on this subject are most fatuitous and astonishing. The election of a president, a governor, a senator, a member of assembly, or a sheriff, excites all the latent energies of this great community. All is bustle, life, and activity. Numerous meetings and counter meetings are held. Inflammatory resolutions and addresses are widely circulated. And hundreds, nay thousands, appear as feelingly alive on the subject, as if their entire temporal, nay, as if their eternal felicity were at stake on the event. And yet of what consequence is it to the mass of the community whether this man or that man be sheriff, or member of assembly—or whether the estimable and enlightened Biddle, or an equally estimable and enlightened democrat, be elected senator? Not a cent.

But which of us is not deeply and vitally interested in the momentous question, whether the deleterious system pursued by the banks, whereby our prosperity is cutting up by the roots, shall be continued or abandoned? Not a man in the community. A few wealthy capitalists, who prosper by the general distress, are deeply interested that the system shall continue. It affords them a superabundant harvest. They can purchase goods, and store them, till they realize 20, 30, or 40 per cent. in a few months. But all the rest of the community are as deeply interested to change a system which is daily goading them step by step to the brink of destruction.

Whence, then, this stupor, this servility? Is it that our high-minded merchants and traders are afraid of the banks? Do they submit to ruin, rather than remonstrate against its infliction? It must be so. "'Tis true, 'tis pity—and pity it is, 'tis true." "I'd rather be a dog, and bay the moon," than endure such an existence.

I beg leave once more to prove the transcendent insanity of the system whose continuance I deprecate. All that I shall state has been already published—but unfortunately, in vain. And till it has produced its effect, it ought to be served up every day, and every hour of the day, to those men, who, as I have already stated, have in their hands the destinies of their

fellow citizens. Were parrots capable of prating arithmetic, I should wish nine of the chattering species taught the tables hereto subjoined, and one stationed at each of the boards of the different banks to stun the ears of the directors with the sounds.

I presume no man will undertake to dispute these positions:

1. Bank credit, according to every rule of reason and common sense, ought to bear a due proportion to a man's business as well as his means. He who is engaged in fitting out a coasting sloop, cannot require, nor ought he to receive, an equal degree of bank accommodation with a person who is fitting out an East Indiaman. It necessarily results as a corollary from this position,

2. That when bank accommodation in a town or city, is reduced to its minimum—or when it is at that grade, which is not pretended to be excessive or extravagant, a large increase of fair, honest, and useful business will justify a proportionate increase of bank accommodation.

3. That sudden, violent, and extreme changes of the scale of discounts are pernicious to fair trade and commerce—to arts and manufactures—to industry and enterprise—to morals and manners—and to happiness;—an immoderate extension producing and fostering luxury, extravagance, and speculation; the opposite extreme producing ruin to the middle and lower classes of society, and enriching extravagantly those capitalists who are enabled to make fortunes out of the general distress; in a word, eventuating in a result which all the energies of society ought to be employed to guard against—that is, making the rich richer, and the poor poorer.

These premises being laid down, I proceed to state,

1. That the bank accommodation of the city of Philadelphia, in August, 1814, when there was little or no business doing, and when but little had been done for two years, was reduced to the minimum—or at least it could not possibly be regarded as extravagant.

2. That the prodigious increase of fair, honest, and useful trade and commerce in 1815—an increase amounting to above $37,000,000; required a very great enlargement of bank accommodation.

3. That no adequate reason has ever been assigned, nor can any possibly be given, why, after having discounted almost all the notes that were offered in June, July, and August, 1815, and

many of them, of the most extravagant amount, a total change was made by the banks, in the succeeding months, and moderate notes of the very best character constantly refused.

To apply these positions, I state anew the trade of 1814 and 1815, to which I request the most particular attention of the public at large. The table sheds a flood of light on this momentous subject.

1814.		1815.	
Exports	377,640	Exports	6,711,000
Imports	1,021,428	Imports	25,342,125
Duties	295,978	Duties	7,095,000
	1,695,046		39,148,125
Drawbacks	482		955,885
Aug. 1814.		Dec. 1815.	
Discounts	10,695,108.	Discounts	13,566,369.

Thus it appears that the exports had increased eighteen fold —the imports nearly twenty-five fold—the duties twenty-four fold—and the drawbacks above 500 fold. Let the reader ponder on this statement, and then answer these plain questions. Would not an increase of trade and commerce to the amount of above 37,000,000 of dollars, require, and justify a greater increase of bank discounts than 2,870,000 dollars? Is it not inexpressibly astonishing, that so much extra business could have been done, with so small an addition to the bills discounted? When the goods imported in three vessels, and sold by one individual, amounted to above 1,500,000 dollars; when the imports in eight months were 25,000,000 of dollars; and when the auction sales in the same space of time, were 10,000,000 of dollars; might it not have been reasonably expected, that the discounts of 1815 would have been thrice or at least twice as great as those of 1814? Yet I have strong reason to believe, that when they were at the acme in August, they were not 50 per cent. beyond those of the latter year. Can any man, then, possessed of reason or common sense, admit for a moment, that there was the slightest cause for the deplorable, destructive, and disgraceful panic, whereby in September, the banks were terrified into that deleterious system of reduction, whose consequences will entail poverty on so many useful citizens? Even had reduction been necessary, prudence, and policy, and humanity towards the public, should have dictated that it ought to have been gradual and gentle, so as not to give that precipi-

tous fall to prices which occurred in October, November, and December, 1815.

Lives there a man possessed of a spark of soul, who can survey the wide-spread desolation that has been extended through our country, in consequence of the depletory system so abruptly adopted and so violently pursued, without feeling the most acute pang on considering the awful insanity that regulates human affairs!

There is one important view of the relations between the community and the banks, of which these institutions should not for a moment lose sight. They are as entirely at the mercy of the public, as the public are at theirs: and they hold their standing by the tenure of general indulgence. For, were they treated with the rigour and severity which they have frequently exercised of late, they would find it as difficult to discharge their engagements, as those individuals whom they have been so long and so fatuitously pressing into the vortex of bankruptcy.

This requires explanation. I request attention. I must single out a particular bank, to illustrate my theory. I select the Farmers' Bank, of Reading, for the purpose. I prefer employing a distant bank, in order to avoid giving offence. But the inferences drawn from this case will apply more or less to every bank in the world. The degree alone will vary according to circumstances.

On the 6th of Nov. 1815, this bank had notes in circulation,	$339,561
It owed to its stockholders,	15,009
to its depositors,	38,101
	$393,671
To meet these engagements, it possessed of the lawful money of the country, or specie, only	$42,142
And notes of other banks,	41,308
	$83,450
There was, moreover, due for bills discounted,	$592,581

Suppose for a moment its debts were imperiously demanded, what course must it pursue? First pay away its specie: then press its debtors for what they owed—and as fast as they paid, it would be able to do the same, and no faster.—But is there a man to be found extravagant enough to believe, that if taken by surprise, and coerced, as the banks have recently coerced the public, it would be able on the emergency to collect enough of

its debts to meet the demands against it? No: it would be impossible. The result is easily seen.

It thus appears plain and palpable, that the banks are in the same situation precisely as the mass of our citizens. If allowed to collect their debts, they are perfectly solvent. But if pressed with rigour and severity, and compelled by that rigour and severity, to distress and break up their debtors, they could not possibly discharge their engagements.—Thus it is with the mercantile and trading world, more particularly with those whose concerns are with the western country. The great mass of them are perfectly solvent, although, if treated with severity, they may be unable to meet their engagements. But let the banks only follow the divine rule,

> "That mercy I to others show,
> That mercy show to me,"

and all will be well. Let them allow the trading world time to collect in their debts. The result will be favourable not merely to the merchant and trader, but to the banks themselves. The latter will lose far less by lenity and indulgence, than they would by rigour. The former will escape ruin.

Can it then be, that the banks, which are so very highly indebted to the public lenity, whereby they are supported in the system of discharging their old notes with new ones—and which do not possess collectively above 14 cents in the dollar of the lawful money of the country, to meet their engagements, will not reciprocate the lenity and indulgence they so largely experience! I trust not.

I said "fourteen cents in the dollar." This is not a random assertion. I annex a statement of the situation of three of the city banks, as reported to the legislature last January, in proof of its correctness.

	DEBTS.	SPECIE.
Pennsylvania,	3,036,705	389,532
Philadelphia,	1,476,724	223,093
Farmers and Mechanics,	1,508,257	218,632
	6,021,686	831,257

If it be said, that they had at that time government stock and debts due them to an immense amount, far beyond their own engagements; so may the merchants and traders say, "we have very large debts due us, and stocks of goods on hand. We are as perfectly solvent, ultimately as you. You cannot pay your

debts without being allowed time. We are in a situation, neither better nor worse."

While these pages are preparing for the press, it is publicly announced, that the directors of the bank of North America, have passed some resolutions for the extension of discounts themselves, and recommendatory of the same course to the other banks generally, in order to relieve our citizens during the present pressure! What an irresistible and overwhelming proof does this reluctant, this late, this extorted measure afford, of the justice of all that has been written against the prevailing system! I have laboured to prove that the plan of curtailment was fraught with destruction. It has been pursued with severity, till more than half the predicted mischief is accomplished: and the ruin is daily increasing with the rapidity of a body of snow precipitously rolling down a steep mountain's side. And behold! at length, it is found necessary not merely to suspend the system, but to pursue a directly contrary course! Alas for human folly! The money that has been collected with great difficulty, and at immense sacrifices, and paid into the banks, is to be re-loaned to the same persons, or loaned to others, as circumstances may determine! What distress, what anguish, what remorse must those bank directors feel, who have produced the present hideous state of things! To suppose them capable of regarding it with calmness is to suppose them wholly destitute of feeling. I would not for the wealth of the richest of them, how superabundant soever that wealth may be, have to answer for the consequences. After a portion of the trading part of the community has been ruined, and numbers of the rest been driven to the very verge of destruction, it is at last discovered that the system is radically wrong—that they have drawn the cord too tight—and that a small addition to the tension, would break it, and produce a most fearful explosion. It is, therefore, thank heaven! abandoned in time to rescue numbers who were "*tottering to their fall;*" but too late, alas! to save so many who have been swallowed up in the vortex of bankruptcy, the ill-fated victims of banking empiricism! Let us, then, hail the distant gleam of happier days, of which the dawn appears to shed a feeble ray of light through the thick gloom that overspreads the horizon. It is delightful to believe that the worst is over, or nearly so; that confidence will be restored once more, and that arts, manufactures, trade, commerce, and every species of useful enterprise, will receive due encou-

ragement, and be no more the victims of wild and fantastic experiments! Our hopes may be blasted. Thick clouds and fearful storms may once more prevail. But I cherish the hope of better times;—for future distress may, and I hope will, be prevented by a due exercise of prudence, discretion and liberality on the part of the banks, and by profiting of past ruinous errors.

April 29, 1816.

P. S. *Extracts from Grotjan's Price Current, April* 29, 1816.

	BELOW PAR.
Reading, Lancaster, and Susquehanna bridge bank notes,	7 *a* 8
York Town,	9
All other Pennsylvania country notes,*	11
Farmers Bank of Delaware,	9 *a* 10
District of Columbia, chartered,	7 *a* 10
District of Columbia, unchartered,	No purchasers.
Baltimore, ,	5 *a* 5½
Other Maryland notes,	9 *a* 10
Unchartered Virginia bank notes,	10 *a* 12
The Price Current does not notice Ohio bank notes, but they are at	12 *a* 15

When it is considered that probably three-fourths of all the remittances made to, or money received in this city, are in the above notes, which our citizens are too often obliged to receive at par, some idea may be formed of the miserable state of the trade of Philadelphia.

(CIRCULAR.)

To the Directors of the Bank of the United States.

Philadelphia, June 28, 1819.

Gentlemen,—Permit a citizen, who has always been favourably disposed towards your institution, and who is ardently desirous of supporting public credit, and diminishing the existing distresses and embarrassments, which press so heavily on the community, to address you a few lines on subjects connected with your official stations.

* Except Easton, New Hope, Delaware County, Montgomery, Harrisburg, Hulmeville, and Chester, which are at par.

The magnitude of the subject of this letter, and my views in addressing it, render apology unnecessary for the freedom of the style, which, under other circumstances, might be indefensible.

I adopt the mode of private communication, as there is some portion of its contents which I would not wish to meet the public eye. In this form, moreover, I have a better chance of a fair hearing, than if I addressed you through the channel of a newspaper.

The subject divides itself into four parts:—

I. The present state of the trade, commerce, and financial concerns of our citizens.

II. The system of banking operations you pursue.

III. The consequences it is likely to produce.

IV. The object you propose to yourselves.

It must be as painful to you to read, as it is to me to delineate, a sketch of the present state of the trading and commercial world.

1. Trade and commerce are almost wholly suspended.

2. Confidence between man and man is greatly impaired.

3. The interest of money privately borrowed is extravagantly high. Old mortgages on valuable property are currently sold at 12 per cent. per annum.

4. Few men buy but what they can immediately sell. Of course, how large soever a person's stock may be, he cannot rely upon it for meeting his engagements, unless sold by auction, and at ruinous sacrifices.

5. On the collection of debts no dependence can be placed.

6. The mechanics and manufacturers are daily discharging their workmen, from the mere inability to raise money to pay their wages.

7. Thousands of the latter are absolutely unemployed—and in consequence the poor tax is likely to be doubled this year—and depredations on the public to increase.

8. Men are liable to be forced to stop payment, who are worth double the amount of their engagements.

This is a slight sketch. It has, however, the merit of fidelity of delineation, and of presenting to the mind the great outlines of the existing state of affairs.

I shall detail what I understand to be the leading features of the system you pursue. Should they be in any wise incorrect,

you will do me the justice to believe, that the error is not intentional.

I. You have annulled an old and approved regulation, coeval with the government, and acted on by the old Bank of the United States during the whole course of its existence, (and by the state banks when they were employed to collect the duties) whereby importers, indebted for duties, were accommodated with discounts for a certain portion of the amount.

II. You have adopted a regular system of curtailment, whereby the amount of your discounts is reducing weekly; and, contrary to the usual system of banking, circumscribe the circulation of your notes.

III. You refuse to collect notes, or to draw drafts on your branches, or to allow them to draw on you, or on each other, thus annihilating a species of accommodation frequently afforded by all the state banks, even very insignificant ones, and wholly defeating one of the objects with those who voted for your charter.

IV. Thus, in a time of stagnation, embarrassment, and difficulty, all your measures have a direct tendency to increase the public distress; and are manifest (and some of them I believe unnecessary) departures from the system adopted by your predecessors, and generally in use in the state banks.

The consequences of this system will be—

1. To drain the state banks of their specie.

2. To oblige them to press on their customers—and thus greatly increase the general distress.

3. To produce extensive bankruptcies.

4. To inflict heavy losses on your stockholders by those bankruptcies.

5. To increase the unpopularity of your institution, to which the state banks, in their own vindication, will be obliged to ascribe those calamities.

6. To lessen your dividends—impair the value of your stock—and thus also deeply to injure your stockholders, whose interests you are sacredly bound by every tie of honour to guard.

7. Possibly to break up some of the state banks, to the ruin of hundreds of citizens.

8. To oblige those who are able to hold out, to make ruinous sacrifices of their property.

9. To enable wealthy men to possess themselves of the property of the distressed—and thus produce the worst possible

effect that can arise from such an institution; to make the rich richer—the middle class poor—and the poor poorer.

Here is a number of great and serious evils, most of them certain—and all of them highly probable. The mere contemplation of them cannot fail to excite alarm and distress in the mind of every man of humanity. None deserving of that character would consent to the adoption of measures calculated to produce them, without a strong belief of their absolute necessity, or of their effecting some grand and paramount object, which would more than counterbalance them. It is hardly possible to limit the censure due to their adoption without such a justification.

But I confess I have sought in vain for such an object. I have turned the matter over in my mind in every shape and form, with all the solicitude its importance demanded, and whatever the object may be, it has eluded my inquiry.

Let me, then, gentlemen, invoke you to ponder deeply on these matters. Pause in your career. Consider well the high responsibility attached to your situation—and the double duty you owe your constituents and the public. Decide whether you can justify yourselves in the sight of God or man, in producing such masses of misery for any good your system can possibly produce—and should the certain evil outweigh the probable good, as I feel certain must be the case, change your plans, and afford the public every accommodation in your power, consistent with your own safety, in order to mitigate the existing evils as far as practicable.

Should you, however, persevere, and your system produce the effects I anticipate, you will double, perhaps treble the present distress, and ruin hundreds, many of them as estimable and as useful as any at your board—many men with large families—many women—many children—who, pardon me for the freedom, will have cause to deplore the hour that gave birth to your bank, which will have (wantonly, they will suppose) dashed the cup of happiness from their lips, and blasted their prospects through life. You will thus disappoint all the predictions of your best friends, and verify the worst anticipations of your most inveterate enemies.

Permit me, gentlemen, to offer an advice to which I trust you will attend. Should the object to be attained by your system be of such magnitude and importance to the public welfare, as to warrant the course you pursue, it is due to yourselves—and

to the community, to have it distinctly stated, so that if heavy sufferings be inflicted on your fellow citizens, the sufferers and others may know that the good to be attained, is worth the price it costs.—You will thus save yourselves from the unqualified censure which the devastation you are likely to produce must excite, should it be generally believed that it proceeds from a wanton exercise of power, or in pursuit of some visionary or unimportant object.

The system pursued by your immediate predecessors, invited applications for discounts, in consequence of which immense sums were borrowed, which were invested in trade, commerce, houses, and lands. Yours is the antipodes of theirs. But surely, in order to cure a plethora, arising from repletion, it cannot be necessary to starve the community to death.

That I do not subscribe my name to this letter, does not arise from any doubt of its propriety, or reluctance to incur the responsibility of it; but from a wish to avoid ostentation. So fully am I satisfied of the correctness of the view taken of our affairs, and of the consequences that will result from a perseverance in your present system, that if I were disposed to suffer martyrdom for any truth whatever, I should not hesitate to do it for the contents of this letter.

A Friend to Public Credit.

P. S. On a review of the above, just as it is going to press, my mind misgives me, and leads me to apprehend that my zeal may have carried me to a length that will hardly be excused. In the hope, however, that some salutary consequences may result from the measure, I cannot persuade myself to suppress this communication. If it do injury, it must be to me alone, by exciting hostility, not very honourable or reputable. And I cannot shrink from the risque of personal injury, for the chance of great public good.

REPORT ON FEMALE WAGES.

Philadelphia, March 25, 1829.

The Subscribers, a committee appointed by the Town Meeting of the citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia, on the 21st ult. "to ascertain whether those who are able and willing to

work, can in general procure employment—what is the effect upon the comfort, happiness and morals of the females who depend on their work for a support, of the low rate of wages paid to that class of society—to what extent the sufferings of the poor are attributable to those low wages—and what is the effect of benevolent or assistance societies on the industry of the labouring poor,"—beg leave to report,

That they have attended to the duties confided to them with a due sense of their importance, not merely to the comfort, happiness, and morals of that distressed, interesting and numerous portion of our population, whose case was particularly referred to them, but to the character of the community at large, which is deeply involved in the question of the justice done to that class, and the care and attention bestowed on their welfare:—

That they are convinced, from a careful examination of the subject, that the wages paid to seamstresses who work in their own apartments—to spoolers—to spinners—to folders of printed books—and in many cases to those who take in washing, are utterly inadequate to their support, even if fully employed, particularly if they have children unable to aid them in their industry, as is often the case; whereas, the work is so precarious that they are often unemployed—sometimes for a whole week together, and very frequently one or two days in each week. In many cases no small portion of their time is spent in seeking and waiting for work, and in taking it home when done:

That in the different branches above specified, industrious and expert women, unencumbered with families, and with steady employment, cannot average more than a dollar and a quarter per week; that their room rent is generally fifty cents, sometimes sixty-two and a half; and fuel probably costs about a quarter of a dollar per week, on an average through the year.* Thus, in the case of constant unceasing employment, (a case that rarely occurs,) there remains but about half a dollar per week, or twenty-six dollars per annum, for meat, drink, and clothing; and supposing only eight weeks in the year unemployed through sickness, want of work, or attention to children, (and this is but a moderate calculation) the amount for food and clothing would be reduced to the most miserable pittance of sixteen dollars per annum! Can we wonder at the

* This is probably too high, by a few cents.

harrowing misery and distress that prevail among this class, under such a deplorable state of things?

That it is a most lamentable fact, that among the women thus "ground to the earth" by such inadequate wages, are to be found numbers of widows, with small children, who, by the untimely death of their husbands, and those reverses of fortune to which human affairs are liable, have been gradually reduced from a state of comfort and affluence to penury, and thrown upon the world, with no other dependence than their needles to support themselves and their offspring:

That although it is freely admitted that great distress and poverty arise from habits of dissipation and intemperance of husbands, and their shameful neglect to make that provision for their wives and children which they are bound to do by the laws of God and man, (and which, it is to be deeply regretted, the laws do not duly enforce,) yet we feel satisfied that those deporable and pernicious habits do not produce half the wretchedness to which meritorious females are subjected in this city, of which the greater portion arises from the other source which we have stated, and which places before this class the alternatives of begging—applying to the overseers of the poor—stealing—or starving. We might add another—but we forbear.

That the scenes of distress and suffering which we have witnessed in our various visits to the dwellings of women who depend on their labour for support, resulting from inadequate wages, are of the most afflicting kind, and can scarcely be believed but by those by whom they have been beheld. We have found cases of women, whose husbands have been for weeks disabled by accidents, or by sickness produced by working on canals, surrounded by pestiferous miasmata—who have had to support their husbands and three or four children, by spooling at 20 cents per hundred skeins—by spinning at as low a rate of compensation—by washing and rough drying at 20 or 25 cents per dozen—or by making shirts and pantaloons at 12½ cents each:

That it is a great error to suppose, as is too frequently supposed, that every person in this community, able and willing to work, can procure employment; as there are many persons, of both sexes, more particularly females, who are at all times partially, and frequently wholly unemployed, although anxious to procure employment. There is almost always a great deficiency of employment for females, which is the chief reason why their wages are so disproportioned to those of males:

That there are few errors more pernicious, or more destitute of foundation, than the idea which has of late years been industriously propagated, that the benevolent societies of this city produce idleness and dissipation, by inducing the poor to depend on them, instead of depending on industry. The whole of the *annual subscriptions* for last year, to seven of the most prominent of these societies, embracing, it is believed, nearly all of any importance, was only 1069 dollars—and the whole of their disbursements, only 8740 dollars, a sum which obviously could not materially affect the industry of the many thousands, male and female, who have to work for their living. And it is of the last importance, in the consideration of this question, to take notice, that most part of these disbursements, was *for work done by aged women, and for food and clothing furnished to superannuated men and women, and destitute children:*

That those societies, far from increasing idleness and pauperism, have a directly contrary tendency; as, by the timely aid they afford, in seasons of distress and pressure, they very frequently produce the important effect of rescuing deserving persons from sinking into hopeless poverty, and thus becoming chargeable as paupers. Cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence. And it is not improbable that the consequent annual diminution of the poor tax exceeds the whole amount contributed to those societies by our citizens:

That the funds of those societies are managed with great prudence and circumspection—as the ladies humanely visit the poor in their habitations—ascertain the extent of their sufferings, as well as the nature of their claims for relief—and afford such aid as the cases respectively may require, and as their very limited means warrant. We think it but justice to declare, that we cannot conceive of any mode in which the same amount of money could do more effectual good—and we believe that the beneficence of the managers adds lustre to the character of the city. They are admirably calculated to be almoners to the wealthy, who are unable to seek out proper objects of charity, and are constantly liable to gross imposition:

That numerous proofs of the industry of the classes which depend for support upon their labour, and of the injustice of the denunciations levelled against them, might be produced; but we shall confine ourselves to two, one as regards males, the other as regards females. The first is, the thousands of men, who eagerly seek for labour on canals, often in pestilential situ-

ations, with death staring them in the face—the second, the fact that from 1000 to 1100 women have weekly travelled three, four, six, eight or ten squares, and anxiously waited for hours at the Provident Society's rooms for work, although it was known that they could not procure more than enough to employ themselves two, three or four days in the week. These two facts alone, ought to settle this question beyond the power of cavil or appeal.*

For evils of the magnitude and inveteracy of those under which the women suffer, who depend on their labour for support, it is difficult to devise a remedy. A complete remedy is perhaps impracticable. They may, however, and we hope will, be mitigated. The mitigation must wholly depend on the humanity and the sense of justice of those by whom they are employed, who, for the honour of human nature, it is to be supposed, have not been aware of the fact, that the wages they have been paying, were inadequate to the purchase of food, raiment and lodging; and who, now that the real state of the case is made manifest, will probably, as they certainly ought to, increase those wages. Although the great and increasing competition in trade, renders it necessary to use rigid economy in the expense of producing articles for market, it can never palliate, far less justify the oppression of the ill-fated people engaged in the production, by whose labours large fortunes are made, and their employers enabled to live in ease and opulence.

It is peculiarly incumbent on those wealthy ladies, who employ seamstresses or washerwomen, and who ought to feel sympathy for the sufferings of their sex, to give them such wages as will not only yield them a present support, but enable them to make provision for times of sickness or scarcity of employment. It is painful to state, but regard for truth obliges us to state, that in this respect sufficient attention is not generally paid to the sacred rule of "doing unto others as we would have others do unto us." A moderate degree of attention to this rule, would annihilate a great portion of the distress of hundreds of suffering females.

One important means of mitigating the distress of this class, would be, to increase as far as possible the diversity of female

* Subsequent inquiries have established the fact, that numbers of those women came from Kensington, a distance of two miles from the society's rooms, and of course had to travel four miles, for four shirts, which would require three days' labour, and for which they received but half a dollar!!!

employments, by which that competition which has produced the pernicious reduction of wages, would be diminished.

The Committee hope they will be pardoned for touching on a subject analogous to the object of their appointment, although not embraced in its terms. It is to recommend to the most serious consideration of the benevolent of their fellow citizens, the establishment of "a society for bettering the condition of the poor,"* by encouraging habits of order, regularity and cleanliness in their persons and apartments; by instructing them in the most economical modes of cooking their food; by inducing them to send their children to school, and, when arrived at a proper age, to bind them apprentices to useful trades, and to lodge the little surplus of their earnings, when they have any surplus, in the saving fund; by enabling them to purchase fuel and other necessaries at reasonable rates; in a word, by inculcating on them those principles and that kind of conduct, which are calculated to elevate them in their own estimation, and in that of society at large. Societies of this description have produced the most salutary effects on the comfort and morals of the poor in various parts of Great Britain.

And while the Committee press on the humane and wealthy part of the community, the propriety of aiding in a greater degree than heretofore, (by their own exertions and through the various benevolent societies that exist among us, and whose funds are at present greatly reduced,) to alleviate the distresses of the numerous widows and orphans, and the really deserving poor and helpless of every description; they would likewise suggest to housekeepers and heads of families the propriety of seeking out and employing in the situation of domestics in their several families, destitute females, who, by the frowns of fortune, have been reduced to distress. Hundreds of this description are to be found within the precincts of the city and liberties, who, if properly encouraged, would be grateful for the means of employment thus afforded them, and who might profit by the precept and example set before them in the houses of respectable citizens. Perhaps there are few ties in common life, more binding than those that are found to exist between a benevolent master and mistress, and a faithful female servant

[July 8, 1830.] Two societies on this plan have been since formed in this city—one for bettering the condition of the poor, generally,—and the other for bettering the condition of indigent Roman Catholics.

who has grown up under their own eyes, and under their care and protection, and that of their descendants.

All which is respectfully submitted.

MATHEW CAREY,
ROBERT SMITH,
JOSEPH WATSON,
CHARLES M. DUPUY,
BENJAMIN TUCKER,
M. M. CARLL,
GEORGE EMERICK,
} *Committee.**

ADDRESS TO THE LIBERAL AND HUMANE.

Philadelphia, May, 1829.

The subscribers most earnestly request the attention of the humane and liberal of their fellow citizens, to a few observations on the state of the charitable institutions of this city, which depend on the generosity of the public for their support, and hope to be able to present the subject in a point of view which has probably escaped general attention.

That Philadelphia is honourably distinguished by the numerous benevolent societies embraced within its precincts, will not be denied by any person possessed of the least degree of candour. Almost every object that makes its appeal to the best feelings of humanity, has enrolled under its standard, a number of patrons associated in its support.

But unfortunately it is equally true, that in almost every instance, the list of patrons has most rapidly diminished.—In some cases one-half, two-thirds, or three-fourths of the original number have withdrawn. It would be too tedious to go into a long enumeration. We shall confine ourselves to a few cases. The Provident Society in 1824 had 1015 annual subscribers. In 1828, there were but 300 who paid. The Female Hospitable Society had formerly 700 subscribers. It has now but 107. The St. Joseph's Orphan Society commenced with about 300 annual subscribers—in 1828 only seven paid. There are but 34 subscribers to the Southern Dispensary. Thus the sphere of their usefulness is rapidly and most injuriously diminishing.

* This report was refused insertion in four of the eight daily papers printed in the city of Philadelphia. In one of the four, however, it subsequently appeared.

Two reasons may be assigned for this extraordinary decline. One is, that the burdens, which ought, according to the principles of common justice, to be borne by all, in some proportion to their means, fall very unequally. There are citizens who rarely refuse their names in support of any object, calculated to benefit the public; and according to the trite proverb, "*spur the free horse to death*," they are singled out on almost every occasion; while thousands of others, equally well, and many much more, able to contribute, have never subscribed to any society—some because they have never been applied to, and some because they labour under the very erroneous impression, that those societies not only do no good, but do positive injury—a most unfounded and pernicious prejudice.

Hence it is unfortunately true, that this great and wealthy city, containing, with the adjacent districts, about 150,000 inhabitants, has, at this moment, but 3561 subscribers to 33 societies; the whole of whose annual subscriptions amounted last year to only $6933:

For the support of nine Infant Schools.
For the promotion of Public Schools throughout the state.
For the support of Charity Schools.
For the Apprentices' Library.
For the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.
For the three Dispensaries.
For the Widows' Asylum.
For two or three Orphan Asylums.
For the Abolition Society.
For the Colonization Society.
For alleviating the miseries of Public Prisons.
For the House of Refuge.
For the promotion of Temperance.

To seven societies for administering food to the hungry, clothes to the naked, and medicines and attendance to the sick, &c. &c.

And there is reason to believe, as many of the subscribers support two, three, four, and some eight and ten societies, that the whole amount is paid by not more than 2500 persons—but say 3000—and that the remaining 127,000 of the inhabitants of this prosperous city, do not contribute a dollar for those beneficent objects!

This is a state of things which ought not to be—and cer-

tainly never would have been, if proper pains had been taken to remove the unjust prejudices that exist on this subject, as to the amount paid to, and the effect produced by, those societies —and to produce a correct feeling on the subject, so as to induce a general subscription; such a subscription as would not be felt, even by persons in humble life. Of the 25,000 houses in Philadelphia, it is presumed that two-fifths are occupied by persons in tolerably easy circumstances—not one of whom would probably refuse to contribute two or three dollars a year for some of the great purposes above mentioned, should the prejudices that have prevailed on this subject, yield to the force of truth.

In order to remove the inequality that prevails in the contributions, we most ardently invoke the general patronage of our citizens, for the following plan, whereby an immense mass of public good may be effected at a trivial individual expense—an expense that would not, we repeat, be at all oppressive to persons in humble circumstances. Indeed the support of this plan, would not be beyond the means or resources of an operative who worked for a dollar a day; as there are two of those societies, of which the annual subscription is only half a dollar —eight, one dollar each—and fourteen, two dollars.

An agent of courteous manners will be employed to call at every house in the city, which wears the appearance of being inhabited by citizens in circumstances to contribute a single subscription of two or three dollars a year for the great and humane objects above specified. He will be provided with a book with as many divisions as there are societies for which patronage is sought. *To avoid offence, all appearance of importunity will be prohibited. He will merely present his book, and await the decision of the parties; and, whether that decision be compliance or rejection, he will be directed to withdraw politely.*—Although individuals may, if they choose, subscribe to more than one society, yet it is to be distinctly understood, that *no more than one subscription is expected from any one person. And we go so far as to say, that those who are already subscribers to any of those institutions, will be considered as exempt from a compliance with this call, although their names will be thankfully received,* if they judge proper to increase the number of the institutions they patronise.

We have slightly touched on existing prejudices respecting some of those societies—and feeling deeply anxious to avert the

pernicious consequences of those prejudices, we request to be pardoned for adding a few words on the subject. The most fastidious objector could not pretend that societies for the promotion of education—for the relief of the deaf and dumb—for the support of widows and orphans—for the abolition of slavery—for the support of the dispensaries, and the house of refuge—for the colonization of the descendants of the Africans, the victims of the cupidity of our ancestors, &c. could by any possibility produce other than beneficent fruits. The only shadow of plausibility in the objections is against those benevolent societies which minister food to the hungry—drink to the thirsty—and clothes to the naked; those acts for the performance of which Christ promised the welcome salutation—"*Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world—for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat. I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink. I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me. I was sick, and ye visited me. I was in prison, and ye came unto me.*"—"VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, INASMUCH AS YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME." Such are the blessed doings of those excellent associations, which have been so cruelly calumniated, as doing injury to society! For the injustice of the charge, we confidently appeal to the decision of an enlightened public. But whatever may be that decision, those whose prepossessions are irremovable, have scope enough for their benevolence in regard to the other societies, against which no human ingenuity can find a rational objection.

Should it be asked, why are not the religious societies included, it may be observed, in reply, that the number would in that case create confusion—that it is at present almost too great—that they are altogether distinct concerns—that those societies are in general tolerably well supported—and at all events, sufficiently numerous to warrant the adoption of a similar plan for their support.*

* This address was signed by ninety-seven citizens of the first respectability, among whom were Bishop White, Bishop Onderdonk, John Sergeant, Robert Ralston, Alexander Henry, Samuel Wetherill, Henry Pratt, Thomas P. Cope, Esqrs., Rev. Dr. Bedell, Rev. Dr. Ely, Rev. Dr. Harold, &c. &c.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The attempt to increase the resources of some of the benevolent institutions of this city, has proved a partial failure, and will, *therefore*, probably be censured as absurd and chimerical by those who measure the merits or demerits of human actions by their success—a most miserable standard, indeed, and unworthy of a rational being. It is a satisfactory set-off against such a profound judgment, that some of the most intelligent of our citizens have placed it among the most judicious plans submitted to the public for years. Be this, however, as it may, it cannot be amiss, in closing the concern, to give a brief statement of the motives that led us to make the experiment.

1. The support of all the institutions, in question, has, for years, been diminishing, so as greatly to limit their usefulness. The annual subscriptions of some of them, have been reduced 20, 30, 40, 50 and some 60 or 70 per cent.

2. The whole amount of the *annual subscriptions* to 33 societies, embracing some of the most useful ever devised by human wisdom, excited by exalted benevolence, (for the support of Infant Schools—for the promotion of education generally—Asylums for widows, orphans, the deaf and dumb, and Magdalens—the three Dispensaries—the House of Refuge—the Abolition, Temperance, Charity School, and Colonization Societies—the Provident Society for employing the poor—the various societies for the relief of the hungry, the naked, the desolate, the superannuated, &c.) was, during the last year, only 6,933 dollars!

3. The number of *subscriptions* for those societies, was 3561; and, as many persons are subscribers to 3, 4, and 5, and some to 7, 8, 9, and 10, the number of *subscribers* was probably not more than 2500—but say 3000.

4. In the city and liberties of Philadelphia there are about 150 or 160,000 inhabitants—and of course about 25,000 houses. It was assumed that two-fifths, say 10,000 of those houses, were inhabited by persons who could well afford to subscribe to one, two, or even three of these institutions; and as the whole number had but 3000 subscribers at most, there remained 7000 house-keepers who might be calculated on to countenance this plan. On the average of one dollar and a half each, it would amount to an additional sum of 10,500 dollars, raised for the

best of purposes, and in the mode least burdensome of any that could be suggested. In truth, as there are nine of those societies to which the annual subscription is but one dollar—and two, a half dollar each—the support of them is within the power of operatives who work for a dollar per day. It is difficult to estimate the extent of the good that might have been accomplished had the project succeeded.

Now let me ask a few questions of those who may be disposed to pronounce unfavourably of this plan: Was it not, under all the circumstances of the case, worthy of an experiment? Was it not reasonable, without being too sanguine, to hope for success? Is not the failure as much to be wondered at as to be regretted?

This experiment was tried for twenty days and a half. The last four days there were but twelve dollars received—and on the last day, *there was but a single dollar collected*, which was not sufficient to pay the collector. It was then surely time to abandon the plan as hopeless.

The result is the more wonderful, as a half, or at least a third of the citizens who have now subscribed, were actually subscribers to some of the enumerated societies.

Female Hospitable Society, [21 subscribers $42—donations, $8,]	$50 00
Association for care of coloured Orphans, [2 subscribers,]	4 00
Northern Dispensary, [one subscriber,]	3 00
Female Society for the relief of sick and infirm Poor, [29 subscribers $30, donations $10 50,]	40 50
Infant School, N. Liberties, [8 subscribers $8, donations $1 50,]	9 50
Eye and Ear Infirmary, [4 subscribers $8, donations $3,]	11 00
Benevolent Society, Northern Liberties, donation,	50
Abolition Society, [2 subscribers,]	2 00
Temperance Society, [8 subscribers $8 00, donations $5,]	13 00
Dorcas Society of Southwark, [12 subscribers $6, donations $1,]	7 00
Southern Dorcas Society, [14 subscribers,]	7 00
Philadelphia Infant School, [9 subscribers for 1828—1 for 1829—$18, donations $16,]	34 00
Female Association for relief of Widows and Children in reduced circumstances, [4 subscribers $12, donations $18,]	30 00
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, [6 subscribers for 1828, $18—1 for 1829, $3, donation 50 cents,]	21 50
Female Society for relief and employment of the Poor, [9 subscribers $18, donations $1 50,]	19 50
Southern Dispensary, [4 subscribers $12, donations $3,]	15 00
Southern Infant School Society, [5 subscribers,]	5 00
Colonization Society, [1 subscriber,]	2 00
Pennsylvania Society for promoting Public Schools, [1 subscriber,]	2 00
	$276 50

The total number of subscribers obtained was 137. The money subscribed was $276 and 50 cents, of which nine dollars are not yet collected. The compensation of the collector, was for twenty and a half days, $23, leaving a balance of $244 and 50 cents, which has been paid over by Mr. Dornin to Mr. Isaac Lea, for Messrs. Collins, Earp, M'Alpin and self. By Mr. Lea it has been paid to the respective institutions.

The printer's bill for the various addresses, hand bills, &c. &c., circulated to secure success to the attempt, amounts to $33, which, as a matter of right, I intended to have deducted from the amount collected; but that amount is so paltry, that I will pay the printer out of my own pocket.

The expense of the agent, in consequence of the small collections is a high per centage—no less than nine per cent.

The experiment may be tried in the fall, should the public appear disposed to afford it countenance.

Philadelphia, June 29, 1829.

To the Ladies who have undertaken to establish a House of Industry in New York.

Ladies,—It is a subject of rejoicing that you have come to the determination to open a House of Industry for the alleviation of the sufferings of a numerous and interesting class of your sex, of whom the greater portion of those who depend for support on their honest industry, are ground to the earth by the inadequacy of the wages they receive for their labours.

The mode of procedure demands your most serious consideration—as it unfortunately often happens in human affairs, that the most disinterested efforts of benevolence, when not regulated by sound judgment, and enlightened views, produce not only a failure of the good proposed, but a mass of positive evil. The result of your labours, whether for good or ill, will altogether depend upon the prices you pay for the work executed for you. The rate of wages, then, ought to be the primary object of your attention, which is the more necessary, as radical and pernicious errors prevail on the subject.

Be assured, that when a society which affords employment to

the poor, in winter, or in any other season of distress, gives wages below the proper standard, it produces a serious permanent evil, which is but poorly compensated by the effectuation of a mere temporary good. The price they pay becomes the general standard; thus perniciously and injuriously reducing the rate of compensation, already oppressively low.

The women you employ, indeed every industrious person, ought to receive wages adequate, with proper economy, to pay for their lodgings, and to procure a sufficiency of wholesome food, plain and decent clothing, fuel, candles, soap, &c. That no reasonable person in the nation will deny this position, I will not allow myself to doubt.

With this plain maxim to guide us, let us investigate the subject.

It was the unanimous opinion of a large number of the most respectable and benevolent ladies in Baltimore, assembled a few days since, that an expert seamstress, unencumbered with children, who worked steadily from six o'clock in the morning till ten at night, could not make more than eight or nine muslin shirts per week—and that those who were not expert, or had young children to attend to, could not make more than six. The price paid here, by the proprietors of slop-shops, by the Provident Society, and for government work, is but 12½ cents for each shirt, and for all other articles in the same proportion.

That these women are often unemployed—and are sometimes sick, from insalubrious dwellings, and from scantiness and bad quality of food, may be assumed without danger of cavil or denial,—and six weeks in a year will be admitted to be a very moderate allowance for both these casualties. Their room rent is almost universally 50 cents per week.

With these data, and allowing, for sake of argument, nine shirts per week, at 12½ cents each, let us view the appalling result.

46 weeks, at 112½ cents, produce,	$51 75
Lodgings at 50 cents,	26 00
Remain for meat and drink, clothing, fuel, candles, soap, &c.	$25 75!!

Or less than half a dollar per week, about 7 cents per day. Now, is it not a national disgrace that in the most flourishing country in the world, such should be the miserable pittance for honest industry? Is it to be wondered at, that some of these poor women are, by poverty and desperation, driven to courses

which render them a disgrace to their sex, and a bane and a curse to society?

When this is the situation of the expert, and of those unburdened with children, how calamitous, how deplorable must be the case of the inexpert, the aged, the infirm, and of the expert who have children to support!

Who can reflect on the extent and intensity of the distress that must necessarily result from thus "grinding the faces of the poor," without the deepest sympathy for the sufferers, and horror at such a state of society.

And yet we have hundreds of persons "clothed in purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day," who cant about the worthlessness of the poor—ascribe their distress to their idleness—and defame and decry those benevolent societies which alleviate their sufferings, and often give them food when they have not a morsel to eat, nor a cent to purchase wherewith to rescue themselves from starvation.

The house of industry in Boston, as I am credibly informed, gives but ten cents for the same kind of shirts. Let us apply the same test to the operations in that quarter.

46 weeks, at 90 cents per week,	$41 40
Lodging, (higher there than here) but say 50 cents,	26 00
Remain for food, clothing, fuel, candles, soap, &c.	15 40

Or 30 cents per week—not quite equal to four and a half cents per day!!!!

I have heard it said, and even by benevolent men, in justification of this hideous state of things, that these women do not complain—that they are thankful and satisfied, and therefore, that the subject ought not to be agitated. This is a very superficial and erroneous view of the question, and displays a very small degree of intelligence or judgment. "They do not complain." True. It would answer no purpose. If the price were brought down to six cents (as it sometimes is, or I am most egregiously misinformed), they would accept it, and thankfully too. Their numbers and their wants are so great, and the competition so urgent, that they are wholly at the mercy of their employers, and must accept whatever miserable pittance is offered them, however inadequate to their support.*

* On the most careful inquiries that I have been able to make, it appears, that the number of women in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Balti-

Cold blooded political economists pronounce oracularly, with the most perfect sang froid, that the low rate of wages, however oppressive, is the inevitable consequence of extreme competition—that while this competition continues, a remedy is impossible—that the evil must, therefore, be submitted to—and that it is useless to spend time in an attempt at mitigation.

In this doctrine I cannot agree. I cannot allow myself to believe, that the mass of those by whom these oppressed women are employed, have an idea of the inadequacy of the wages they pay. I feel satisfied, that had they been aware that it is impossible for them to procure for those wages, a sufficiency of the commonest necessaries of life—that they are obliged to make up the deficiency by the contributions of charitable individuals or benevolent societies—or by occasional aid from the overseers of the poor; they would have scorned to reduce the wages so low, particularly those of them who make large fortunes by the ill-paid industry of these ill-fated sufferers. That there may be some who are perfectly aware of the real state of the case, and who, nevertheless, take advantage of the necessities of the women in question, I admit—for there is an infinite diversity in the character and principles of mankind. But I fondly hope, the number is small; and if the subject attract a degree of attention, commensurate with its importance, public opinion may be brought powerfully to bear on these, and thus "to correct the procedure."

The ladies who have opened a house of industry in Baltimore, actuated by the soundest and most enlightened and benevolent views of the subject, have, to their honour, set a most laudable example, which I hope and trust, will, in due time, be followed in all our cities, where such institutions are established. Although their resources are as yet very moderate, they have, depending for support on public liberality, raised the price of seamstresses' work; and accordingly, they pay 18¾ cents for those coarse muslin shirts, heretofore made for 12½, and for all

more, whose sole dependence is on their industry, amounts to from 18 to 20,000 say 18,000. Of these, about one-third are tayloresses, milliners, mantua-makers, colourists, attendants in shops, seamstresses who work in families, nurses, whitewashers, &c., who are in general, tolerably well paid. The remainder are seamstresses who take in work at their own lodgings, spoolers, shoe-binders, &c. &c., whose cases fall within the description in the text.

other articles in proportion. So far as Baltimore is concerned, (and the reasoning will apply wherever the same course shall be pursued,) this plan will produce as great a harvest of good, and relieve as much real and unmerited distress and suffering, as any plan adopted there for years, with such slender means. Some of the proprietors of slop-shops there have followed the example of the ladies, and it is more than probable, that it will spread generally. "This is a consummation most devoutly to be wished," and will apply a radical remedy to a most enormous evil.

That I may not tire you with too long a homily, I shall conclude with recommending to your attention the following judicious observations from a most respectable writer.

"*While the ordinary rate of wages remains insufficient for*" *a decent* "*maintenance, no device of benevolent ingenuity will avail to render the condition of the poor independent or truly comfortable.*"

"We ought never to forget, that in alleviating the immediate sufferings of the poor, *we are only palliating, not eradicating the evils of poverty.* We must never forget, that THE LOW RATE OF WAGES IS THE ROOT OF THE MISCHIEF; and that unless we can succeed in raising the price of labour, our utmost efforts *will do little towards bettering the condition of the industrious classes.* The distribution of alms, or the introduction of contrivances for the more judicious application of the labourer's earnings, may be highly useful in their way. *But they do not reach the source of the evil.* Something may be done by teaching the poor to lay out their pittance of earnings, more skilfully, and with the smallest waste. But the relief to be afforded by such means, must at best, be confined within narrow limits, *so long as the ordinary rate of wages remains* INSUFFICIENT FOR A DECENT MAINTENANCE."

Philadelphia, May 11, 1830.

Address submitted for consideration to, and adopted by the Board of Managers of the Impartial Humane Society of Baltimore.

The Board of Managers of the Impartial Humane Society, finding that erroneous ideas are entertained of the object they have in view, and the plan they propose to follow, to attain that object, deem it proper to announce both so explicitly as to prevent any misconception in future.

Their leading object is to relieve the distress of honest indus-

trious women, able and willing to work, but occasionally unable to procure employment.

The means are by furnishing work to persons of this description, at fair prices.

It has been supposed that it is their intention to have work done at cheaper rates than those now paid by the persons who employ those women. No such idea was ever entertained by them. This system, if pursued, would render an establishment, from which they are sanguine enough to expect the most salutary results to society, a public nuisance.

They have determined to pay such moderate wages as will enable industrious, competent women, with proper economy, to support themselves, without depending on the eleemosynary aid of charitable individuals, or benevolent societies, or on the overseers of the poor, as, it is to be deeply lamented, is now too much and too frequently the case.

It is not necessary to go into detail on the various rates of wages they pay: one or two items will be sufficient to fully explain their views.

They pay for coarse muslin shirts, and for duck pantaloons, eighteen cents and three-quarters each; and in the same proportion, for all other articles.

At these rates, industrious, competent women, making nine of either per week, which is as much as they can perform, are able to earn one dollar and sixty-eight cents per week.

These wages, they freely admit, are too low—and they would be highly gratified, if it were in their power, to give more. But low as they are, they are actually one half more than the highest rate of wages paid for those articles now and for some years past by the government, or private individuals, and more than double what is very frequently paid for them at present.

If they undertook to give more than they now pay, their plan might and very probably would wholly fail. They therefore, prefer doing a practical good, though falling short of their wishes, to attempting what strict justice might require, but which would risque, indeed probably insure, a defeat of their views. *On the prices they pay, they charge a very small advance to the public, towards defraying the expenses of the establishment.*

They need not state, as it must be obvious, even on a superficial examination of the subject, that their hopes of success rest

on the liberality of the public. And if patronage be proportioned to the usefulness of the objects proposed by public institutions, they fondly hope theirs will experience a respectable share of public beneficence. To that beneficence they make a solemn appeal, and on it they fully rely. Their own means are too slender to enable them to accomplish a tenth part of what they wish to effect. Those means, however, to the utmost extent that prudence and propriety will justify—their cares,—their attentions,—and their efforts, shall be cheerfully and gratuitously devoted to a cause, which they believe they may, without impropriety, style the cause of justice and humanity.

When such streams of wealth are poured out in various quarters for the spiritual and temporal welfare of distant nations, they venture to hope that the distress and sufferings of our own countrywomen cannot fail to excite the sympathy, and command the effective aid of the generous, the charitable, the humane, among those, whose means enable them to follow the illustrious example of the good Samaritan.

May 15, 1830.

N. B. The parts of the above address marked in Italics, were omitted by the ladies of the Society in their published address. The writer regrets the omission of the last paragraph, which he deems one of the most important of the whole.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Philadelphia, August 20, 1829.

That it is the duty of the rich, and, in proportion to their means, ought to be their pride and pleasure, to meliorate the condition and relieve the distresses of the deserving and suffering poor, will be admitted by every well-constituted mind. The moral condition of that class is often in as low a state as their physical; and both make loud and feeling appeals to the humane and benevolent for charitable interference. To those who perform these duties, the delightful feelings imparted by such a course of conduct, are an abundant reward, fully compensating for the sacrifice of wealth or time, or the attention they may require.

Unhappily, such is the constitution of society, that a consi-

derable portion of mankind, even in prosperous times, and in the most favoured countries, are doomed to pass their lives in indigence, from which no care, no industry, no sobriety, can extricate them. This situation is produced by the reduction of wages to the minimum of a bare support of existence, without any allowance for occasional want of employment, sickness, support of small children, and other contingencies to which the poor are subject. This state of things exists too generally among the operatives in Europe, who are ground down to the earth by their employers. ' Unfortunately our own cities exhibit too many exemplifications of the correctness of these views, particularly so far as regards females who depend on their needles for support.

Should any person be disposed to call this statement in question, all doubt on the subject will be removed by the following appalling facts—that the highest price given for the making of coarse muslin shirts, by the government, the keepers of slop-shops, and the Provident Society, is twelve and a half cents each; that other articles are paid for in the same proportion; that the most skilful woman, unencumbered by a family, and with constant employment brought to her door, and taken away without loss of time to her, could not, working from sunrise till long after sunset, make more than eight or nine shirts per week, and of course not earn more than a dollar and an eighth, or a dollar and a quarter; of which half a dollar goes for rent; that those who are not expert, or who have small children to attend to, cannot make more than six or seven shirts per week, even if they have a constant command of work; that employment is extremely irregular and uncertain; and that probably most of them are destitute of it for a third or a fourth part of their time.

The Provident Society gave employment during the last winter to from 1000 to 1100 females, many of them widows of persons who once moved in a high sphere of society. They reside at various distances from the Society's rooms, from two to ten squares, which they had to travel frequently through snow and rain. The Society, from its very limited resources, was unable to furnish them with more than four or five shirts each—making the sorry pittance of 50 or 62½ cents per week.

Many of these unfortunate women had two or three or four children, of whom some were sick. Instances were ascertained of some having palsied and bed-rid husbands to support—and

labouring themselves under chronic disorders, which threatened their existence.

This state of things is truly deplorable, and must be heart-rending to all who are not destitute of humane feelings; and the circumstance most deeply to be regretted is, that in the usual course of affairs, it is hopeless of remedy. Application to government for an increase of wages has wholly failed. The state of the Provident Society's resources renders it impossible for them to make any increase. And there is no great likelihood of an increase in any other quarter.

Independent of those, there are thousands, who, though not quite so cruelly oppressed, have powerful claims on the benevolence and beneficence of the humane and wealthy.

But although any change for the better for these ill-fated classes, in regard to wages, may be hopeless, much of the distress and suffering of the poor may be mitigated by inculcating on them habits of order and regularity and cleanliness, with economical modes of employing their slender pittance so far as regards the kinds of food they consume, and modes of cookery, and in various other ways. This important object may be attained by employing a suitable person to visit them in their forlorn habitations from time to time—to gain their confidence —to console and comfort them in their distress—to inculcate good lessons of morality and religion on them—and to urge them to attend religious worship in the congregations to which they respectively belong.

This plan has the advantage of having been successfully tried, and found eminently beneficial in Boston, where it has produced a signal amelioration in the habits and manners, and an increase of the comforts and happiness, of the poor. A Mr. Tuckerman, a benevolent clergyman, devotes his whole time to the object of visiting, and comforting, and relieving the poor, whose confidence he has acquired by kindness and tenderness.

The liberality of the wealthy citizens of Boston, besides affording him a competent salary, places large funds at his command, which he conscientiously distributes. Whether such liberality will be displayed here, remains to be seen. It is to be hoped, for the honour of our city and of human nature, that we shall not yield the palm to Boston. But even if funds enough cannot be raised to afford physical aid to the poor, a great mass of good may be done—much wretchedness be re-

lieved—and an important amelioration of morals and manners be produced, if funds enough can be raised, in the commencement, to compensate a suitable person for employing his time for the purposes above stated.

A suitable person may at present be had, who, for about 500 dollars per annum, will undertake to devote the chief part of his time to this important object. He is a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, well known in this city for his benevolence and religious habits, and is eminently calculated for the purpose.

A recapitulation of his imperative duties, for the punctual performance of which he will solemnly pledge himself, may be proper. He will—

1. Inculcate on the poor the necessity and advantage of habits of order, regularity, cleanliness, and industry;

2. Urge them to send their children to infant or public schools;

3. Demonstrate the pernicious consequences of habits of intemperance, as invariably leading to poverty and wretchedness—almost invariably to crime—often to murder and suicide;

4. Counsel and comfort them in their distress, and make known to charitable persons the cases of those who are peculiarly entitled to pecuniary relief;

5. Give them moral and religious instructions and exhortations and advice—at the same time refraining from any attempt to make proselytes of persons belonging to other religious societies—to whom all his exhortations are to be confined to those doctrines on which all religious denominations agree—such, in a word, as are to be found in the divine sermon on the mount, and elsewhere in the admonitions and precepts emanating from the same venerated source, and spread through the gospels;

6. Earnestly urge those to whom he devotes his time and attention, to go regularly to the places of worship to which they respectively belong, and to be punctual in the performance of the duties their religion prescribes.

7. Should funds sufficient be placed in his hands, as it is hoped will be the case, he will distribute them conscientiously to the most deserving and the most necessitous.

Of the utility of this project, no doubt can be reasonably entertained. If successful, it will produce a great mass of good

to society, at a very moderate comparative expense. Fifty subscribers, at ten dollars each, *payable quarterly*, will be sufficient to make a commencement—and it would be a libel on the city to suppose that such a subscription could not be procured for such an important object.

The subscription here stated has been adopted after most mature deliberation, as more likely to raise the requisite salary, among wealthy and liberal people, than the same amount in smaller sums, and depending on one or two hundred persons.

Should members of other religious denominations be jealous of this plan, because it is to be confided, in the first instance to a Protestant Episcopalian, perhaps they might organize similar associations among their own individual societies. There are few of them, within the bosom of which there are not sufficient materials for such an establishment, so far as regards physical and moral wants, on the one side, and means, if proper disposition be found on the other, to afford ample relief.

In the mean time, it is confidently hoped that the pledge above stated will be abundantly sufficient to tranquilize the minds of the most zealous members of other denominations, and that the good work will not be prevented by unfounded or sectarian jealousies.

As soon as thirty subscribers are procured, it is proposed that they organize themselves into a society, to be styled, "The Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor," depending upon public liberality for the completion of the requisite number.*

N. B.—Two considerations demand attention. One, that the saving in the poor taxes by the establishment of this society, will probably exceed the amount of the salary tenfold—the other, that no person is to be considered bound for more than a year, should he disapprove of the execution of the plan.

* It has been already stated that this plan has been carried into operation. A society has likewise been organized for "Bettering the Condition of Indigent Roman Catholics of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia."

ON THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF FIRES.

It is probable that there never was an instance of a simple, cheap and efficacious plan of accomplishing an important object, so often fruitlessly urged on the public attention, as the mode of preventing the extension of fires by providing a sufficient supply of coarse cloths to spread over the roofs of houses near such as are in flames. It was first suggested in the Port Folio, about the time of its commencement, in the year 1809; and has been since urged above a dozen times in various papers in the United States—but hitherto in vain. I annex the plan:

"Procure as many coarse and thick cloths, of suitable lengths, as will suffice to cover the roofs of ten or a dozen houses; and as soon as a fire breaks out, spread them over the roofs of the circumjacent houses, keeping them constantly saturated with water by means of engines. Two engines would, in such cases, afford more effectual protection against the spread of fires, than six or eight playing on the naked roofs. For however numerous the engines may be, and however great the quantity of water they discharge, the roofs in five minutes after the engines cease, become as combustible as before they began. Whereas, a single engine, playing moderately on roofs covered with cloths, would afford protection to the houses on each side of the one in flames, however violently they might rage.

"Although this plan would be highly beneficial every where, it is peculiarly important in places where water is scarce, as is the case in various towns and cities of the United States, particularly to the southward."

So far as regards expense, it is probable that the cost of a single engine would purchase cloths enough for the largest city in the union; and if this plan were adopted, half the engines now in use would be sufficient.

It might have been supposed that the benefit derived from the use of a few blankets, collected occasionally from beds, in arresting the career of the devouring flames, would have removed all doubt as to the efficacy of the cloths in question, which would be far superior to common blankets, by covering at once the entire roofs of houses, independent of being at all times ready to be conveyed to the scene of destruction with the engines. I have seen three buildings at the corner of a street, in Newburyport, the roofs of which had been covered with

blankets, preserved from injury, while the houses on both sides were burned to the ground, and the flames were frequently blown by a high wind, over the blankets, which were preserved in a state of saturation, and thus arrested the progress of the flames.

It appears that from the 1st of January, to the 3d of December, 1828, there were 131 houses injured or totally destroyed by fire, in New York, the loss estimated at the enormous sum of $680,000. From the salutary effects of blankets, used for the purpose of preventing the spread of fires, it is probable that the use of the cloths in question, would have saved two-thirds, or at least one-half, of this sum—but say only one-tenth, or $68,000 —what an immense saving for so small an expenditure as would be necessary! To any single office insuring houses, it would have been well worth while to pay ten-fold the sum necessary for the purpose.

This plan has been before the public about nineteen years. Suppose the annual loss throughout the United States, to be only equal to that experienced in New York alone, as stated above, from January 1, to December 3, it would make a total of about $13,000,000, a sum not beyond probability, when we consider the great frequency of fires, and the extent of the ravages in many instances—30, 40, 50 and 100 houses at a time. It would be a curious calculation to try to ascertain how much of this loss might have probably been prevented, by the adoption of the plan in question.

By the recent fire in Augusta, it is stated that between three and four hundred houses had been consumed—half a million of property destroyed—and two hundred and fifty families reduced to poverty! It is more than probable that the plan proposed, had it been adopted and acted upon, would have prevented two-thirds or more of the destruction.

Philadelphia, April 15, 1829.

*Dedication of the Religious Olive Branch.**

TO THE RISING GENERATION,

THE

RELIGIOUS OLIVE BRANCH

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

Its object is to prove,
that the dire insanity and atrocious wickedness of punishing the body
by
stripes, cropping, hanging, drawing, quartering,
tortures, drowning, and flames,
for the errors of the mind, real or supposed, have been confined to no
denomination of Christians;
but that nearly all of them, when in power, have
disgraced and dishonoured themselves
by the perpetration
of this most foul, most hideous crime;
and that most of those who made the loudest outcries against the
injustice and cruelty of Persecution, when
writhing under its
scorpion sting, became remorseless persecutors themselves,
whenever they acquired the ascendancy.

It is, moreover,
intended to prove, that opinion being beyond human control,
Persecution never made a convert.
Its ill-fated victims are either
hypocrites or martyrs.

Reader, in perusing
these heart-rending and odious details,
let scalding tears freely flow over poor, proud, pitiless, profligate man—
And learn the solemn truth,
that in the unerring registers of heaven,
to propagate
religion by restrictions or disqualifications, is recorded tyranny;
by fines and forfeitures, is robbery;
and by the axe, the gibbet, or the flames,
is downright murder.

Learn further—
that the Living God has
accorded to none of the sons of men the tremendous power of
controlling or punishing religious opinions;
and that the attempt
is a blasphemous invasion of the
prerogatives of the Creator of the universe.

Jan. 2, 1817.

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* This work was never completed.

TO

Those Superior Spirits,

WHO SCORN THE YOKE OF

FRAUD, IMPOSTURE, BIGOTRY, AND DELUSION;

WHO,

AT THE SACRED SHRINE OF TRUTH,

WILL OFFER UP THEIR PREJUDICES,

HOW INVETERATE SOEVER,

WHEN HER BRIGHT TORCH ILLUMINATES THEIR MINDS;

WHO,

POSSESSING THE INESTIMABLE BLESSINGS

OF

Thrice-Holy and Revered Liberty,

ACQUIRED BY AN ARDUOUS STRUGGLE AGAINST

A MERE INCIPIENT DESPOTISM,

WILL SYMPATHIZE WITH THOSE

WHO CONTENDED ARDENTLY, ALTHOUGH UNSUCCESSFULLY,

AGAINST AS GRIEVOUS AN OPPRESSION,

AS EVER PRESSED TO THE EARTH

A NOBLE AND GENEROUS NATION,

WHICH EMBARKED IN THE SAME GLORIOUS CAUSE,

AS LEONIDAS, EPAMINONDAS, BRUTUS, THE PRINCE
OF ORANGE, WILLIAM TELL, FAYETTE,
HANCOCK, ADAMS, FRANKLIN,
AND WASHINGTON,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED.

Dedication of the Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, continued.

IT IS LIKEWISE DEDICATED TO

The Immortal Memory of

THE DESMONDS, THE O'NIALS, THE O'DONNELS, THE O'MOORES, THE PRESTONS, THE MOUNTGARRETS, THE CASTLEHAVENS, THE FITZGERALDS, THE SHEARESES, THE TONES, THE EMMETTS,

AND

The Myriads of Illustrious Irishmen,

WHO

SACRIFICED LIFE OR FORTUNE

IN THE UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO EMANCIPATE A COUNTRY

ENDOWED BY HEAVEN

WITH AS MANY AND AS CHOICE BLESSINGS

AS ANY PART OF THE TERRAQUEOUS GLOBE;

BUT, FOR AGES, A HOPELESS AND HELPLESS VICTIM

TO A FORM OF GOVERNMENT

TRANSCENDENTLY PERNICIOUS.

Philadelphia, March 6, 1819.

Dedication of the New Olive Branch.

TO THOSE

CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

WHOSE EXPANDED VIEWS

EMBRACE THE KINDRED INTERESTS

OF

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE;

WHO BELIEVE THAT

NATIONAL INDUSTRY

IS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE SOURCE OF

National Wealth and Prosperity;

WITH DR. FRANKLIN,

"That industry in all shapes, in all instances, and by all means, should be promoted;"

WITH THOMAS JEFFERSON,

"That manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort;"

WITH ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

"That the independence and security of a country are materially connected with the prosperity of its manufactures;"

WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE POLICY OF

Lavishing the wealth of the nation to support foreign governments and foreign manufacturers,

AND IMPOVERISHING

OUR OWN COUNTRY AND OUR FELLOW CITIZENS;

WHO HOLD THE SOUND DOCTRINE,

That nations, like individuals, must suffer distress and misery when their expenses exceed their incomes;

AND THAT A POLICY

Which converts a large portion of our citizens into hucksters and retailers of foreign productions,

INSTEAD OF

PRODUCERS FOR HOME CONSUMPTION,

IS RADICALLY UNSOUND;

AND FINALLY, THAT

The ruinous experiment we have made of our present system for five years,

POINTS OUT, "WITH A PENCIL OF LIGHT,"

THE IMPORTANT TRUTH, PUT ON RECORD BY LORD CHATHAM,

"That if any thing can prevent the consummation of public ruin, it can only be new councils; a sincere change, from a sincere conviction of error,"

THIS WORK

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THE AUTHOR.

March 17, 1820.

THIS PAMPHLET

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO THOSE

Liberal and Superior Spirits,

WHO

SCORN TO CALUMNIATE, ABUSE, OR VILIFY

THEIR

UNOFFENDING FELLOW CITIZENS,

UNDER THE

Accusation of their holding Doctrines which they have repeatedly and solemnly disclaimed,

AND FOR WHICH THEY ENTERTAIN THE

MOST PROFOUND AND UNQUALIFIED ABHORRENCE—

An Accusation originally preferred and since maintained, to palliate and legalize, in England and Ireland,

Wanton Oppression, Barefaced Rapine,

AND

FOUL MURDER IN THE MOST TERRIFIC SHAPES:

TO THOSE, ALSO, WHO,

CONSCIOUS OF THE FOLLIES, THE ERRORS, AND THE CRIMES OF THEIR OWN ANCESTORS,

WOULD

BLUSH "CRIMSON RED" TO REPROACH THEIR NEIGHBOURS

WITH THE

FOLLIES, CRIMES, OR ERRORS OF THEIRS:

AND TO THOSE, WHO,

INSTEAD OF FANNING THE EMBERS

OF

Religious Bigotry and Intolerance,

PREACH

HARMONY, KIND FEELINGS, AND GOOD WILL TO ALL MEN;

AND THUS

STUDY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE BENEDICTION,

"Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Dedication to Letters on Religious Persecution, continued.

IT IS LIKEWISE DEDICATED,

AS A LOOKING GLASS,

TO THOSE

ULTRA ZEALOTS, WHO, THOUGH THEIR ANCESTORS,

(In flagrant violation of their Pledge to the World that the Reformation was founded on the right of private judgment, in matters of Religion,)

FINED, IMPRISONED, BANISHED, MUTILATED, BEHEADED, TORTURED, EMBOWELLED, QUARTERED, BURNED, AND DROWNED

THEIR

FELLOW MORTALS,

FOR A

Conscientious adherence to Religious Opinions;

YET HAVE

THE CONSUMMATE FOLLY AND THE DARING HARDIHOOD,

TO

REPROACH WITH INTOLERANCE AND PERSECUTION,

THOSE

Whose ancestors perpetrated only some of those Crimes, under circumstances which, though they do not justify them,

OFFER CONSIDERABLE PALLIATION.

IN ONE WORD,

IT IS DEDICATED TO

HIS FELLOW CITIZENS AT LARGE, OF EVERY DENOMINATION AND DESCRIPTION,

IN THE HOPE OF ITS PROVING

A Religious Olive Branch,

TO

INCULCATE THE DIVINE DOCTRINE OF MUTUAL FORGIVENESS AND FORGETFULNESS OF THE CRIMES OF AGES

OF BARBAROUS IGNORANCE, INSATIATE RAPACITY, BLIND BIGOTRY, INFURIATED FANATICISM, AND BLOOD-THIRSTY CRUELTY.

BY A CATHOLIC LAYMAN.

Philadelphia, October 7th, 1826.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The annexed letter* is most respectfully and earnestly recommended to the serious attention of the citizens of Philadelphia,

* *Washington, 7th Dec.* 1826.

MATHEW CAREY, ESQ.

Dear Sir,—I perceive, in a late National Gazette, the report of the doings of a committee raised for the relief of the Greeks, and, as the organ of that committee, I beg leave to address you. In the report alluded to, which I have had an opportunity only to look over hastily, various modes and plans of relief are suggested, which I doubt not will receive due consideration, on the part of those to whom they are referred. My only object in intruding upon you, is to observe, that I received from Greece, the day before yesterday, accounts of the country, which have led me to think, that the amount of suffering *for want of food*, is equal to that produced by the direct operations of the hostile force. One of the letters I have received is from our countryman, Jarvis, who has distinguished himself in the military service of the country, and possesses the confidence of its government. He writes as follows:—"The Committees for the relief of the Greeks in France, Holland, and Geneva, have sent twelve cargoes of provisions, and an agent to superintend their distribution. This has prevented the final starvation of the country. Let not the United States, among so many states and nations, be indifferent to the sufferings of this dreadful but not desperate conflict."

With this letter from Mr. Jarvis, I received one from Kolocotroni, who has been so prominent from the commencement of the revolution as a military chief, and is now at the head of the Greek forces. His letter is dated at Napoli, 26th of July, and is written in Romaic. He thus expresses himself, on the assistance received by his country from other nations:—

"Our Christian brethren throughout the world, sympathizing with Greece in her extremity, have sent us aid of various kinds, to support us in our holy war. From the societies for the relief of the Greeks in England, in France, in Switzerland, and many other countries of Europe, we have frequent communications of articles both for sustenance and war; which have proved a relief to the poverty and destitution of the Greeks, to whom *the foe has left no agriculture, no commerce, no arts;* and who, being exclusively occupied in the struggle, have no means of supplying what is needful either for subsistence or military operations.

"The people of America, a people of Christians, a people devoted to liberty, of whose friendship and sympathy for Greece we have already received ample proof, are, to our great misfortune, the farthest removed from us. But remote as they are, sir, the friends of freedom and the friends of humanity may yet contribute to the relief of our country; nor will their aid be the less efficient or serviceable, particularly in our present emergency."

From this authentic source of information, I am led to think, dear sir, that a great amount of suffering might be relieved by the despatch of a vessel loaded with provisions for this unhappy country. Many excellent and bene-

and of the United States at large, in the hope—pray heaven it may not be vain—of awaking the slumbering sympathies of this great and rising empire in favour of one of the most interesting nations that ever existed—a nation whose struggle for every thing dear and sacred to human nature, under almost every possible disadvantage, has never been exceeded, and but rarely equalled, for the most inflexible devotion to country, and the most heroic valour. The annals of the world, since ruthless warfare began to devour the human race, present nothing of patriotism and bravery more honourable to our nature than the defence of Missolonghi. Had the smallest nation in Europe zealously espoused the cause of the Greeks, with two or three large frigates or vessels of the line, they would have triumphed long since; established their independence on a firm foundation; and taken their rank among the nations of the earth. But while all the liberal and enlightened people of Europe were most decidedly favourable to their cause, and pouring out ardent prayers to heaven for their success, the governments of that quarter of the globe, either looked on with frigid indifference or malignant jealousy, or covertly aided their ferocious oppressors. The powder mills of Europe are employed in manufacturing powder—the foundries in casting cannon—and the shipyards in building vessels of war, for the purpose of aiding in the extermination of this brave nation. And finally, to cap the climax of dishonour and disgrace, the armies of the Turks are officered, and their fleets manœuvred, by base and recreant Christians!

We raise, annually, thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, to support missionaries to convert Hindoos, Chinese, Burmese, and Japanese to Christianity, with problematical success, and at an enormous expense per man, when successful. Would it not be meritorious to direct this zeal into another channel for a year or two, and let its overflowings be devoted to interpose a shield for the preservation of the Greeks from impending destruction? Should the effort prove successful, we might rescue

volent persons would co-operate in this mode of aiding the Greeks, who would object to other propositions. An amount of funds, quite inadequate to any efficient military equipment, would suffice for the purchase of a very considerable quantity of food, and its transportation to the scene of distress.

I am, Dear Sir, with high respect,
Your Friend and Servant,
EDWARD EVERETT.

more worshippers of Christ from the scymitars of the infuriated Turks in one year, than all the converts to Christianity that have been made in a century by all the missionaries of Europe and America, and at the tithe of a tithe of the expense.

Let me appeal in the most fervent language—would to heaven I could find language adequate—to touch the hearts and excite the feelings of American mothers, American wives, and American sisters, to exert their benign and powerful influence —an influence, which, in such a holy cause, would be irresistible—so as to arouse their sons, their husbands, and their brothers, to efforts in support of this oppressed, famishing, and desponding nation. Efforts, thus excited, might, in a blessed hour, turn the scale in their favour, to the utter discomfiture of their detestable oppressors. Let the struggling Greeks be exhilarated by seeing that their wrongs are deeply felt, and that efficient succour is afforded them, by fellow Christians at a distance of 5000 miles. This would nerve their arms, and whet their swords, so as probably to secure their final emancipation.

Let the American fair be stimulated to zealous efforts in this noble cause, by reflecting on the hideous fate that awaits their sex in the disastrous event of the final subjugation of a nation, ennobled by the names of a Solon, a Plato, a Socrates, an Aristides, a Phocion, an Epaminondas, a Leonidas—a nation, which, with a sound form of government, would probably rise to a level with their glorious and immortal ancestors. It is not poverty—it is not exile—it is not imprisonment, that awaits the helpless sex, in the calamitous downfall of their country. Incomparably worse will be their destiny. The mind stands aghast at the mere contemplation of the scenes that will follow, over the details of which I draw a veil, and shall but slightly pourtray the great outlines, leaving the imagination to complete the horrible picture. After seeing their fathers, brothers, and husbands butchered before their eyes, or sold to a slavery worse than death—high-minded, elegant females, framed in nature's finest mould, and calculated for the brightest ornaments of society, will be delivered over to the brutality of a licentious and infuriate soldiery—or sold into the harems of stupid, sensual Turks, many of whom believe that women have no souls, and were solely formed to minister to the passions of man. No female, possessed of the tender and sympathizing feelings that do honour to the sex, can contemplate such hideous scenes without a holy abhorrence, and a determination to

leave nothing within her power undone to contribute towards averting such an execrable catastrophe.

May the living God inspire them with zeal—prosper their efforts—and shower his choicest blessings on them in recompense.

Philadelphia, Dec. 11, 1826.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

It is proposed in this paper to take a candid view of the Greek question, which has of late deservedly occupied so much of the public attention, and to present it under some aspects in which it has not probably been hitherto placed. No appeal will be made to the passions or feelings—which frequently lead us astray, and whose effects are generally evanescent. The address shall be offered wholly to the sober and dispassionate reason of the reader.

A nation struggling for its liberty, is an object worthy of the sympathy of men and angels. The more severe and grinding the tyranny under which it has groaned, the more imperative the claim for sympathy. The more insulated and friendless the oppressed, and the greater the disparity of force between them and their oppressors, the more the claim is enhanced. Finally, it arises to its acme, when subjugation is likely to be nearly tantamount to extermination.

On these three points—the provocation to resistance—the extrinsic aid afforded to the revolutionists—and the result of a failure, had it unhappily taken place in this country, and should it be the catastrophe in Greece—a comparison is instituted between that country and the United States, in order to bring the subject fully and fairly before the public.

1. *The Provocation to Resistance.*

In the British colonies, at the time when resistance began, in 1775, life was perfectly sacred—so was liberty—and so was property, except in the attempt to impose taxes by a foreign country. The amount of the taxes was not the grievance. It was of small account, and not more, probably, than the colonies would have themselves contributed, had they been called upon,

through the medium of their own legislative bodies, to furnish their quota for the general defence of both countries. The great grievance was the violation of a fundamental and sacred principle of civil liberty, that taxation without representation is slavery. The whole of the grievances of the British colonies, from their first settlement to the declaration of independence, were not equal to those suffered by Greece in a single month.

What, on the other hand, was the situation of the ill-fated Greek? In every respect completely the reverse of that of the English colonist. Neither life, liberty, nor property was secure. He was the defenceless, and unprotected slave of ferocious barbarians. Ypsilanti, one of the leaders of the insurgents, drew a brief, pity-inspiring portrait of the state of his country, previous to the insurrection—"*Our temples are defiled —our children torn from our arms by our barbarous tyrants, to minister to their shameful pleasures—our houses despoiled—our fields devastated—and ourselves vile slaves.*" Mr. Bradish, an eye-witness, of the most undoubted character for veracity, lately stated to a meeting in New York, that "*the very name of Christian has been, every where in Turkey, a title to insult, to chains, and to death. It is a virtue there to kill a Christian dog.*"

2. *Extrinsic aid afforded to the Revolutionists.*

The contrast in this case is at least equal to that in the former. The United States, it is true, enjoyed the sympathy of nearly the whole civilized world, kings, and people. But sympathy does not raise or pay armies; build or man fleets; manufacture arms or ammunition; cast cannon; or garrison or defend fortresses: and deplorable would have been the case of the United States, had they depended wholly on foreign sympathy. They had something extrinsic, far more substantial than sympathy. Three powerful nations were arrayed in arms on their side. Large loans were procured on the most favourable and liberal terms. Powerful armies crossed the Atlantic in their defence. The ocean was covered with mighty fleets, which forced their enemy to retain at home those forces with which otherwise he could hardly have failed to subjugate them. In a word, few nations ever received more effective aid in their struggle for liberty—and of course few nations lie under a heavier debt to those in similar circumstances, than the United States. May it not be appropriately asked, whether we have ever made the slightest attempt to repay the debt? Will there

ever occur a more favourable opportunity than the situation of Greece affords? And if prudence and policy conspire to prevent our government from endangering the peace of the nation by affording aid to the oppressed, which might compromit our neutrality, can any incentive be necessary to impel our citizens individually, when no motive of policy or prudence forbids—and every motive of benevolence and humanity impels—to contribute, from their superabundance, some trifle to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow men?

What a melancholy contrast Greece exhibits! No nation in the world, great or small, through its government, has afforded her the slightest aid, in meat, drink, clothes, men, money, ships, arms, or ammunition. Nearly the whole of the governments of Europe are deadly hostile to her—and some of them clandestinely afford aid to her enemies. It is undoubtedly true, that the wise, and the good, and the generous, and the just, and the humane, of the entire civilized world, feel a deep interest in her welfare; and, should she fall, will feelingly deplore her fate. But alas! all this sympathy, if multiplied a thousand fold, would not arrest the murderous career of a single horde of barbarous Egyptians. And it may be averred, as more than probable, that one or two French vessels brought more effective aid to the United States, in men, money, arms, and ammunition, than all the Philhellenists of the old and new world, have contributed to the aid of Greece in her six years' warfare, notwithstanding the strong feeling her interesting case has excited. She has, it is true, been enabled to borrow money from European capitalists—but alas! for the honour of human nature! "their tender mercies were cruelties;" for Shylock himself never loaned money at more usurious and devouring interest. "The net produce of the second loan for £2,000,000," says the Westminster Review, "was £1,046,000!!!" Vol. vi. p. 128. "Oh that I were a dog, that I might not call man my brother."

3. *The Result of a Failure.*

Had the United States unfortunately failed in their struggle, some twenty, thirty, or perhaps forty of the leaders would have been tried and executed as traitors. The rest of the nation would have been in perfect safety as to life and liberty. 3, 4, or 500,000 acres of land would have been confiscated—but the remainder of the landed property would have undergone little or no change of proprietors. After the havoc of war had

ceased, trial by jury would come into operation—female honour would be sacred—and, except in the article of taxation, property would be as secure as formerly, and affairs revert to nearly their old course.

Should Greece fall, what will be her situation? Alas! it is not matter of conjecture. The rivers of blood that flowed—the devouring flames that raged—the myriads of heroic Christians, sold in the market places, like beasts of burden, many of them Washingtons, Jeffersons, Vasas, Franklins, Hancocks, and Adamses—the brutal violation perpetrated on elegant females, which loudly called for the most pointed vengeance of heaven on the remorseless barbarian conquerors—at Scio, Cyprus, and Missalonghi—plainly point out the fate that impends with unerring certainty over the hapless Greeks, in the event of subjugation. Yet, while the greater part of the governments of the civilized nations of the new and old world are in league to arrest the African slave-trade, almost all look with heartless indifference on the more execrable slavery, and the slaughter, of one of the most heroic nations of ancient or modern times—for no nation ever maintained a more glorious struggle with barbarous oppressors, under such immense disadvantages.

Such are the heart-rending views under which appeals were made above eleven weeks since to the generosity and liberality of the citizens of Philadelphia, to afford aid to the old men, the women, and the children of this heroic nation, suffering under the aggravated horrors inflicted by an infuriate foe, and a want of the common necessaries of life. Never, since man began to oppress his fellow man, was there a case more loudly appealing to every sentiment honourable to human nature. The utmost confidence was felt, that such appeals would prove irresistible, and that the fund would amount to a sum honourable not only to the city of Philadelphia—but to human nature. And it must be acknowledged, they have, in many instances, proved successful, and the issue honourable to the parties. But it is equally true, that the general result in this city has fallen short of what might have been reasonably expected. The whole amount of the cash fund at present [March 1] is $11,177—of which only $5824 have been *collected* in Philadelphia *in eleven weeks by subscriptions*, and at the Rev. Mr. Bedell's sermon. The remainder has been derived from other sources.

Thus reducing *the collections*, as above, in the city of Philadel-

phia, with a population of 140,000 inhabitants, many of them enormously wealthy, to about 5800—not treble the amount of the collection in the village of Brooklyn in eight or ten days—and little more than treble the amount collected in Pittsburg in two or three weeks—And small as this collection is, it has required the most extraordinary efforts to obtain it—efforts probably never exceeded. It may be asserted that nothing has been left undone by the committee to accomplish the object of their appointment. But such was the apathy of many of our citizens, that for four weeks we had reason to expect an almost total failure. For that space the collections did not reach one thousand dollars. And there are at present hundreds of citizens in easy circumstances who have not contributed a dollar.

It is melancholy to have to state, that there are but three subscriptions of one hundred dollars each, from Judge Hemphill, Mr. Archer, and Mr. Ronaldson—eleven of fifty—three of forty and five of thirty—the remainder varying from half a dollar to twenty, and not many of the latter description. Of the large subscriptions there are only two or three by our wealthiest citizens, many of whom have utterly declined any contribution whatever—some on the ground that any contribution from this country would at present be wholly useless—others on the ground of the repeated calls made upon our citizens for charitable and benevolent purposes. Others, again, because they despaired of any collections being made, worthy of being sent to Greece.

With respect to the first objection, it may be observed, that similar gloomy predictions have been hazarded from year to year during the whole contest—and as regularly falsified by the event—and that they are no nearer fulfilment now than they were five years since.

So far as regards the second objection, it must be observed, that the heaviest complaints have not proceeded from those most frequently or successfully applied to. *C'est tout au contraire.* The largest contributions to the Greek fund have been paid by those whose names are honourably enrolled as the most liberal donors on every occasion in which charity or beneficence makes an appeal to the heart.

The third objection is now completely removed. The zeal in the country exceeds all calculation—and I am sorry to say, places Philadelphia in the back ground. Chester county, chiefly

peopled by non-combatant Christians, which was expected to raise only 1000 dollars, has raised 2092. Pittsburg, in two or three weeks has raised 1737. It is at present highly probable that the total fund will extend to 18 or 20,000 dollars.

Who, that has the honour of Philadelphia at heart, can bear the idea, that a city in which there are probably one hundred and fifty persons possessing $100,000 each—from fifty to eighty, worth $200,000—and perhaps from ten to fifteen millionaires, has not raised as much for so glorious a cause, as Pittsburg, Chester county, and Brooklyn? It is to be hoped this stain on the escutcheon of our city will be removed by our wealthy citizens coming forward in a manner worthy of themselves, and of the cause at stake.

It is due to justice to state, that this letter has not been submitted to the Greek committee, by a majority of whom it probably would not have been sanctioned. The responsibility, therefore, rests wholly on the subscriber. If it be asked why this departure from usual rule and order? I reply, that the committee recently invested me with plenary powers to act as I might judge best calculated to promote the grand, the holy object in view. And having devoted all the energies of my soul to this cause—believing that imperious duty requires me to take every honourable means to ensure success—that this measure is perfectly honourable—that it can scarcely fail to prove serviceable—that the character of Philadelphia demands the adoption of extraordinary efforts to raise a fund creditable to the liberality of its citizens—I could not hesitate to adopt it, well aware, however, that although the liberal, the generous, the enlightened, the humane, would at least, excuse, if not justify it—to those of a different description it would give "offence," as tending to disparage the character of Philadelphia. The fault is not mine. I merely state the truth—and the censure lies at the doors of those who have caused the disparagement. If, however, "offences must come," in the discharge of duty, I cannot, will not shrink from its performance on that account. I unhesitatingly steered that course at an earlier period of life, when I held my fortunes and the support of a numerous family by the very frail tenure of public opinion, almost as fickle as the wind itself; and it would be extraordinary and inconsistent, indeed, to change the system, in my present circumstances, with little to hope or fear from mankind—and having, moreover, ar-

rived at that advanced stage of existence, which nearly touches the goal that separates time from eternity.

M. CAREY,
Chairman, Greek Committee.

Philadelphia, March 1, 1827.

Address of the Greek Committee to the Citizens of the State of Pennsylvania.

After a period of service in the holy cause of humanity, extending to fifteen months, one half of which required considerable exertions and vigilance, the Greek Committee present themselves before their fellow-citizens, to render an account of their stewardship.

They hope it will be believed that they have devoted that degree of attention to the trust reposed in them, called for by sympathy for fellow mortals, struggling not merely for freedom from the most awful oppression, but for existence; by the heroism displayed in a contest maintained for seven years with the most unequal odds, and under the most disheartening disadvantages; and above all, by the irresistible appeals made to the noblest feelings of humanity, by an intensity of misery and suffering of which history presents few examples. Of the deplorable state of the Greeks who fled from Napoli, the following harrowing picture has been drawn by an intelligent eye-witness, Mr. Leib, the supercargo of the Levant:—

"The most respectable of the inhabitants, who had fled from Napoli, were rudely accommodated in huts or sheds—but *the multitude were encamped upon the celebrated plains of Argos, in a sort of tents made of mats, something after the manner of the American Indians—but far worse provided, and in greater poverty than I ever beheld the poorest among them.*" "*How they live, Heaven only knows—probably upon grass, a few berries, cockles, and the little leavings of those less hungry than themselves.*"

To this affecting description the committee beg leave to add that of Mr. J. P. Miller, whose means of information were complete, and whose testimony is of the most unexceptionable character:—

"*No pen can ever describe the misery of this devoted country; no scenes in the bloodiest days of Christian persecution could have presented a more appalling spectacle than what is daily before our eyes now in Greece. Thousands*

there are who are living on herbs and snails, whose beds are the rocks, and whose covering is the Heavens."

These appalling portraits apply with slight shades of difference, to nearly all the inhabitants of the Morea, once the splendid seat of art and science, ennobled by the illustrious names of Athens, Sparta, Achaia; of Solon, Lycurgus, Aristides, Phocion, Cimon, &c. &c. &c.

The liberality of the citizens of this state, in which the collections for the laudable purpose of alleviating these sufferings, have amounted to the sum of $25,485, enabled the committee to despatch two vessels to Greece; the Tontine, on the 23d of March, and the Levant on the 30th of May. Their cargoes consisted of 965 barrels, and 254 half barrels of flour, 503 barrels of corn meal, 1692 barrels of navy bread, 300 barrels of rye flour, 40 tierces of rice, 45 barrels of beef and pork, 200 barrels of fish, 39 barrels of beans, a quantity of domestic goods, made-up clothing, medicines, surgical instruments, &c. &c.

Of the efforts made by the committee to insure the success of the cause in which they were engaged, some idea may be formed from the fact, that the publications of various kinds, which they issued from the press, and disseminated not merely through this state, but through some of the neighbouring states, amounted to forty-three—many of them, however, were only different editions, with occasional variations of the same addresses —The total number of impressions was above 20,000. Neither expense nor pains were spared for the attainment of the great object of their attention. The committee venture to add, that they make no doubt that it will be a source of not illaudable gratification to our citizens to know, that the benevolence called into activity in this district, gave the impetus to the noble efforts made in New York and elsewhere.

While the liberality displayed on this occasion throughout the state generally, is acknowledged to be entitled to praise, it cannot be improper to pay a special tribute to the extraordinary liberality of the city of Pittsburg and of Chester county—in the former of which the collections amounted to nearly $1800, a large portion of which was raised among operatives—and in the latter to about $3400, to which every township in the county contributed.

The committee are rejoiced to be able to state that the supplies forwarded not only from this city, but from other parts of the United States, have safely arrived at their places of desti-

nation, and been the blessed means of relieving thousands in extreme distress and misery, of which, in this highly favoured country, it is scarcely possible to form an adequate idea. Hundreds on the verge of the grave, through actual famine, have been rescued from the horrors of starvation, and impending death. Independent of this beneficent result, those succours produced, according to the testimony of Dr. Howe, an important moral effect upon the nation:—

"They were spread far and wide, not only among those in large towns and on the sea-coast, but penetrated into the interior, and were partaken of by thousands of those wretches who had escaped the massacre, and fled from their burning villages to the caves of the mountains. Even those who did not partake, were cheered in their misery by the thought that their sufferings were known and commiserated, and that they were considered worthy of having the hand of charity stretched out to them, across the globe. This wide-spreading feeling encouraged the people to persist in their noble cause —nor was it unaccompanied by gratitude to the donors. *Thousands who had never heard of the name of America, learned to pronounce it for the first time with blessings—and Greece will never forget the kindness done her in her hour of necessity.*"

It ought to be distinctly understood, that although the battle of Navarino rescued the Greeks from the most horrible slavery, and probably the greater portion of them from extermination, which, judging from the ferocity of the Turks and Egyptians at Scio, Cyprus, Missolonghi, and elsewhere, would probably have been their fate; their sufferings at present for want of shelter, of food, and of clothing, are as awful as ever, and will continue for some time to come. Therefore, whatever sympathy or aid their case called for last year, is equally required at present. And it is highly honourable to the nation, and indeed to human nature, that their calamitous situation has aroused anew the generous feelings of the citizens of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, where contributions are raising on a liberal scale. The ladies, always conspicuous in works of mercy,* most honourably distinguish themselves on this occasion, particularly in the city of New York. It is hoped Pennsylvania will not allow herself to be outdone in this noble career; and that the ladies of Philadelphia will do themselves the high honour of exerting their benignant influence in favour of this interesting people. The committee

* The ladies of Baltimore are entitled to high commendation for their noble efforts in this cause last year. They raised about $2000 in a few days, by the sale of a great variety of articles produced by themselves.

make no doubt there are thousands of our citizens, who from various causes, have not yet contributed towards the Greek fund, but who are as liberally disposed as those who have. They therefore earnestly recommend the renewal of a general subscription through the state—and respectfully suggest, that the appointment of a new committee, after the plan adopted in New York, would probably secure that degree of increased zeal which usually characterizes new recruits in public undertakings. A strong belief that this would produce salutary results is the sole reason for the suggestion.

They conclude with offering their most fervent prayers to Heaven, to shower down its choicest blessings on those humane and benevolent individuals, whose agents they have been in this pious work of feeding the hungry—clothing the naked—and comforting the comfortless—that it may inspire to new exertions in this humane course—prosper the efforts of this brave and oppressed nation, in its perilous struggles—and finally render it fit to assume a rank among the family of nations, not unworthy of the descendants of Miltiades, Thrasybulus, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Themistocles, and Epaminondas.

Philadelphia, April 2, 1828.

P. S.—The amount of the contributions in this state to the present time, has been in cash	$24,056 71
In provisions of various kinds, clothing, medicines, surgical instruments, &c.	1,429 11
	$25,485 82
Of which has been expended about	$23,700 00
Leaving a balance in hands of about	1,785 00

Thoughts on Infant Schools, respectfully submitted to the Liberal and Humane of both Sexes.

Philadelphia, June 18, 1827.

A large portion of the poorer classes of society, male and female, particularly the former, are obliged to leave their homes daily, to labour for support in the houses of those by whom they are employed. When thus absent, their children, as soon as able to walk, spend the chief part of their time prowling about

the streets—a seminary, where it would be almost miraculous, if they did not imbibe the seeds of every species of vice and wickedness of which human nature is capable. These, as they progressively advance in life, germinate luxuriantly—produce copious harvests of crime, from petty larceny to highway robbery, and murder—and furnish our criminal courts and penitentiaries with the crowds which they unfortunately exhibit. This seminary, alas! does not afford the smallest chance of the acquisition of a single countervailing virtue.

The case of the children of the poor whose employments do not require them to leave their homes, though not quite so deplorable as that of those above referred to, is not very materially better. For however attentive the parents may be to their duty, however watchful over their offspring, it is impossible to restrain them from spending a large portion of their time in the streets, exposed to the same contamination as the children of the other class.

The object of the proposed plan is to lay the axe to the root of this evil, by the establishment of a school or schools, for the reception and tuition of children below six years of age, in which they will be habituated to order and regularity—taught whatever may be suitable to their capacities—inspired with correct principles—and rescued from the perilous situation in which they are placed at present. Those who have attended to the development of the faculties of children, must have observed that their susceptibility of impressions, good or evil, calculated to produce lasting effects, commences at a far earlier period, than is usually supposed. Most of the benevolent and malevolent propensities—of the virtues which adorn, of the crimes which disgrace human nature—flow from circumstances, apparently of little importance, which take place at two, three, four, or five years of age.

The salutary effects of Sunday schools, on the morals and manners of the rising generation, are acknowledged by those who were the most sceptical on the subject before their institution. This circumstance places in strong relief the beneficent results that may be expected from the establishment of infant schools; as the former redeem but one day in the week from the allurements of vice and crime—whereas, the latter redeem the other six.

The rescue of the offspring, although the chief object, is by no means the only advantage of the proposed plan. It will

greatly relieve the parents from the waste of time and the anxiety attendant on the care of their children—it will thus increase the capacity to earn subsistence, and the comfort and happiness, of a very useful, and, let me add, in general, a very deserving class of our inhabitants. Attention to their children, although necessarily but very imperfectly afforded, must occupy important portions of the time which ought to be devoted to that labour whereon they depend for the support of themselves and families—and which, it is to be regretted, even when fully and skilfully employed, is at best but scantily remunerated! It is an appalling fact, that there are probably six or seven thousand females in this city, some brought up in affluent circumstances, whose utmost industry cannot earn more than a dollar and a quarter, or at most a dollar and a half per week,* out of which many of these unfortunates have to support not only two, three, four, or five children, but dissolute, idle husbands, some of whom not only contribute little or nothing to the support of wives or offspring, but squander the earnings of their wives. The attempt to alleviate the distresses of fellow beings thus unhappily circumstanced, cannot fail to meet the cordial approbation and zealous support of the friends of humanity.

It is too much the fashion to regard the mass of the poor as dissipated and idle—and their sufferings as the result of their vices. It is too true, that society, under whatever aspect it may be viewed, exhibits enough of vice and guilt, to humble pride, and excite commiseration. But that there is a great mass of honesty and virtue among the poor, there cannot be a doubt in the minds of those who have had a fair opportunity to

* The highest price of making a soldier's shirt is only one-eighth of a dollar—and I understand that a woman unencumbered with a family, and expert at needle-work, cannot make more than about eight or nine shirts per week, for which she receives a dollar or a dollar and an eighth per week! Other women's work is paid for in nearly the same proportion! I have this moment learned, that a washerwoman, who was employed the whole of last week, from an early hour in the morning till after sunset, received but three-quarters of a dollar, and her food, for her labour!! The extreme depression of the wages of women's labour is among the most baleful features of society. It is a great discouragement to marriage among the labouring part of our population, and of course a powerful cause of the licentiousness which that discouragement infallibly creates. Where is the justice, where the propriety, of paying five, six or seven dollars a week for male labour, and only a dollar, or a dollar and an eighth for labour similar, or nearly similar, performed by women?

decide on the subject.* And whatever superiority of virtue may exist in the middle and upper classes of society, is no more than might reasonably be expected, when we consider the advantages they possess—the good examples and the moral and intellectual cultivation most of them have had—and the restraints, which the sphere wherein they move, imposes on them. "*Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required.*" On the other hand, if we weigh in an even balance the disadvantages under which the poor labour—the pressure of poverty—the want of good examples—the fascination of bad examples to which they are so much exposed—the destitution of cultivation, either moral or intellectual—instead of wondering that there is so much depravity among them, the wonder is, that there is not far more.

To sum up all. The success of this plan will diminish the sufferings of poor parents, by enabling them to employ their time to advantage—elevate the character of the rising generation of that class—save our property from depredation by larcenies and burglaries—diminish the business of our criminal courts—and in a great degree depopulate our penitentiaries. And are not these glorious objects amply sufficient to excite the benevolent to the exertions necessary to carry this grand plan into execution? What person of liberal mind, can be indifferent to the success of such a beneficent undertaking?

The smallness of the subscription, only two dollars per annum, a sum not beyond the means of a day labourer, together with the importance and benevolence of the object in view, will, it is hoped, insure an unusually large list of subscribers.

P. S. It is highly probable, if this plan be carried into immediate operation, and prove as beneficial as we have reason to expect, that the legislature at its next session, will incorporate it into the system of public schools, and thus render it, as it ought to be, a public charge.

* Among a hundred proofs which might be given of the soundness of this opinion, may be stated the fact, that there is no employment, however degrading, however destructive to health, but finds persons glad to accept it—and in most countries frequently at wages barely sufficient to support human nature.

THE INFANT SCHOOL.

Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1827.

On Thursday was displayed in Philadelphia a sight not yielding in interest to any one that has been beheld here, since the days of William Penn. This is a strong expression, but has not been used without due deliberation.

About five or six hundred persons, male and female, were assembled in the Infant School in Chester street, to behold the exhibition of the progress of the scholars of that institution. To those who were not present, it is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the delight experienced by the spectators at the order, regularity, docility, and intelligence displayed by the interesting objects assembled, of whom the number was one hundred and twenty-six. The whole number on the books of the society is one hundred and ninety-three; but sickness and other causes detained several of them at home.

It appeared like magic, that children, at the tender age of from two to six years, many of whom had never previously learned a single letter of the alphabet, could have made such extraordinary progress in the short space of less than three months. The result has established an all-important point, beyond the power of contradiction by the most sceptical, that is, that the capabilities of the human mind at an early period of life, have been too generally underrated.

There were originally but three objects in view with those ladies and gentlemen, to whose labours the public owe this beneficent establishment:—to keep the children from the contamination of an education in the streets; to enable the parents to pursue their avocations without the hindrance and molestation arising from attention to their children; and to instil into the minds of the latter the elements of a plain education, and the seeds of good morals, with the first principles of religion. The accomplishment of any one of these objects would be ample compensation for the labour and expense attendant upon the institution. And therefore how nobly are rewarded the efforts of the patrons of the establishment, when the three are combined!

A view of the children on Thursday suggested a fourth advantage, of no small importance. They acquire habits of doci-

lity and order, which cannot be too highly appreciated in their effects on future life. But for this institution, these children, if kept at home, would contract habits of restlessness and waywardness. The removal of this disadvantage is to be added to the avoidance of the evils already stated, as resulting from an education in the streets.

The extreme delight felt at beholding the progress made in the education of the children, was greatly enhanced by the contemplation of their healthy and contented appearance, and their interesting countenances.

It will be readily conceived that this school affords but a slender provision for the multitudes of the children of the labouring classes, for whose benefit it is intended. Twenty such schools would not be too many. It is said to be the intention of the managers to open another school or schools, as soon as the liberality of the public will enable them. And from the favourable specimen exhibited; from the blessed consequences which may be anticipated from the institution; and from the unqualified and distinguished approbation it has met with from the numerous and respectable assemblage on Thursday, there is surely every reason to hope for the most extensive patronage. The poorest labourer in the community could afford to become a subscriber; as the subscription, let it be observed, only amounts to four cents per week!

The wealthy classes of society, it is hoped, will duly consider that self-interest, wholly apart from all regard for the public welfare, or commiseration for the sufferings of the labouring classes, should induce them to afford this institution a liberal patronage. It tends to dry up the sources which supply candidates for the penitentiary and the alms-house, by bringing those up in habits of usefulness, who would otherwise be regularly training for those receptacles of human wretchedness. For every dollar expended on Infant Schools, fifty will probably be saved to the community in the diminution of petty larcenies, and the support of paupers and convicts. This is a serious consideration: and it may be fairly doubted, whether in the boundless range of charity, for which this city is deservedly celebrated, there is any mode in which so large a harvest of safety, goodness, and virtue can be reaped from so slender a seed. To wealthy men, disposed to make bequests for benevolent purposes, this institution is most earnestly recommended.

There cannot be a doubt that a similar school, conducted by a suitable teacher, for the children of persons in easy circumstances, who could and would pay liberally, would prove a blessing not merely to the parents, but to the public at large. And it is hoped that such a plan will be adopted, and meet with adequate encouragement. Many parents in those classes of society, at present send their children to mistresses' schools, at three and four years old, merely to keep them, as they say, out of harm's way. At such schools little or nothing is learned—the children are pent up in small rooms, without sufficient air or exercise—poring over books which they cannot but dislike—and squabbling with each other for want of proper employment. It may be asserted, as a general rule, that they rarely lay any solid foundation of learning, morals or religion in those schools. It is very true there are exceptions, and that some of those mistresses are very well qualified for the employment they are engaged in.

It is respectfully suggested to the very estimable Society of Friends who have become, in an especial manner, the kind protectors of the coloured race, that they immediately form a society for the establishment of a similar school for the infants of that portion of our population. When we call the attention of the Society of Friends, particularly, to this object, it is by no means our wish or expectation that members of other societies may not participate, but that the Friends shall have the honour of the origination and the chief management of it. They have largely contributed towards the existing establishment—and liberal-minded members of other societies will unite with them in the support of an infant school for the coloured population.

As this establishment forms an epoch in the history of the cultivation of the human mind, in this state, it may be proper, at this early period, to put on record some of the particulars of its origin, in order to render honour to those to whom honour is due for its success. At a future day the facts might otherwise be difficult to collect.

The Rev. Mr. Carll, in a tour through England, in 1824, visited some of the Infant Schools in that country; was deeply struck with their manifold advantages to the rising generation; and conceived the benevolent idea of introducing them into this country. On his return he urged several of our public-spirited citizens to undertake a similar establishment. It is not to be wondered at, that a project so entire-

ly novel, appeared visionary and Utopian, and that for some time there was little disposition to engage in it. Not discouraged, he delivered an excellent public address on the 2d of February, 1827, developing the plan, and detailing its advantages, of which he printed 250 copies, which he distributed gratuitously. This was followed by some newspaper publications from his and other pens—and by perseverance, and the intrinsic merit of the plan, public attention was at length gradually awakened to its importance: and several ladies, among whom Mrs. J. W. Perit, Mrs. Tho. Latimer, Mrs. R. M. Patterson, and Miss Sparhawk, were the most conspicuous and praiseworthy, opened a subscription about the month of May, and went round with indefatigable zeal and ardour among their friends, to procure subscribers. In this "labour of love" they continued throughout the summer, with the most patient industry, not discouraged by the heat of the weather.

A meeting of citizens, friendly to such a laudable object, was called on the 15th of last May, at which it was resolved to form a society for the establishment of an Infant School or Schools, and a committee was appointed to frame a constitution, which was reported to a subsequent meeting, held on the 31st of that month, when it was adopted, and the officers appointed.

A board of managers, composed of twenty-five ladies, and a board of advisers, composed of five gentlemen, were appointed at the same time. The duties of the latter board are, to aid the managers with their advice and opinions when called upon, and also to recommend such measures as they may judge calculated to promote the benevolent objects of the institution.

The school was opened in an apartment of the public school-house in Chester street, on the 1st of October, under the management of Mr. Bacon and Miss Hyde, who are very well calculated for the offices they have respectively undertaken.

Extraordinary exertions, in addition to the efforts of the ladies, were made to procure subscribers. Suitable persons were employed to canvass the city and liberties, and the success was probably equal to that of any society ever established here, there being at present 35 life subscribers at twenty dollars each, and 298 annual subscribers, at two dollars each. The whole amount of the receipts is nearly 1800 dollars, which includes a number of donations, some of them liberal.

To avoid the humiliation that is apt to attach to gratuitous

education, a small sum is charged to the parents—twenty-five cents per quarter. Some parents pay three cents per week. The receipts on this account, since the 1st of October, have been twenty-two dollars.

About twenty of the children mostly those whose parents live at a distance from the school, bring their dinners, and remain from the hour of opening the school in the morning till the dismissal in the evening.

There is a large yard attached to the school, in which the children are allowed to relax themselves by various amusements, for which purpose the managers have provided blocks and other articles.

REMINISCENCES.

"Laudator temporis acti."

It has been generally assumed, and perhaps frequently with truth, that men advanced in years become soured with the objects around them, which they are incapable of enjoying.—Looking back through the long vista of time to the scenes and objects to which they were attached in their early days, and wholly losing sight of their own past vices, follies and imprudences, and those of their contemporaries,—comparing the objects by which they are surrounded with those of which the concomitant disadvantages and drawbacks have faded from their recollection, they regard the world as degenerating to an extreme degree, and become, in the words of the poet, panegyrists "temporis acti."

How other old men may feel on this subject, I know not. But with whatever others of the vices and imperfections of old age, I may be affected, from this foible, at least, I claim an exemption. Approaching very near to the lengthened period of threescore and ten, and being thus enabled to make long retrospections, I may perhaps be justified in forming comparisons; and, viewing "the whole ground," I dissent from the doctrine, believing that the present age is decidedly superior to the past in almost every particular.

I shall for the present confine myself to the case of temperance. Other points of comparison may be taken up at a future

day. An idea has too generally prevailed, that in this respect we have degenerated; that the consumption of spirituous liquors has greatly increased: and that drunkenness is far more prevalent than it was thirty or forty years ago. What is the real state of the case with the labouring part of our population, I know not—nor have I any means of acquiring information on this point. But be this as it may, I can enumerate several important aspects under which, in the middle and upper classes of society, great improvement, so far as regards habits of intemperance, has taken place, which must be evident to the most cursory observer.

Dinner companies were far more prevalent thirty or forty years since, than they are at present. They were too frequently far remote from "the feast of reason and the flow of soul."—They were often little more than bacchanalian assemblages, in which there was scarcely any rational conversation. It was confined almost entirely to the quality of the wines—the character of the different kinds of food—and the manner of dressing them. Cookery appeared with many, to be the engrossing and the only unfailing topic. The dinner was generally served about three or four o'clock, and the company rarely broke up before ten, eleven, or twelve. Some few, however, might depart at seven, eight or nine. A number of bumper toasts, as they were called, were given—often five or six. A savage and barbarous custom prevailed, worthy of Creeks or Cherokees; which imposed upon every man the necessity to fill his glass full, and to drain it, for each of these toasts. If he attempted to flinch, however weak his head might be, and however unable to bear much wine, his delinquency was pointed out, and a clamour raised to force him to finish his glass. Sometimes the doors of the dining room were locked, to prevent the escape of the guests, till a late hour in the evening, when many of them were intoxicated. These absurd practices were, after a number of years, abandoned, and a semi-barbarous state of things took place, by which, though guests might "*fill as they pleased*," they were constrained to "*drink as they filled.*" But for some years past we have been at the ne plus ultra of politeness on this point. Every man may at present not only "*fill as he pleases*," but "*drink as he pleases.*"

Dinner companies at present generally begin to retire in two or three hours after they take their seats at the table, and in another hour or two, they are all gone. Instances of persons

being affected with drink at those parties, never occur at present.

Thirty or forty years ago, a bottle of wine per man was a pretty general average for a dinner company. It is now reduced to half, and often to a third of that quantity.

To the multitude of dinner parties, which, I repeat, are far less fashionable or common than formerly, evening parties of both sexes have succeeded, which are calculated, by rational conversation, to improve the head and purify the heart. That manners and social enjoyments have gained by the change, cannot be doubted.

Public dinners, thirty or forty years ago, generally commenced about half past three or four o'clock, and generally some, often many, remained guzzling wine, or grog, or toddy, till one or two o'clock in the morning. No small portion of the long sitters became more than "half seas over" before they separated. At present, after such dinners the rooms are usually cleared about seven, eight or nine o'clock.

Thirty or forty years ago, when stages were stopped to water the horses, which was done every six or seven or eight miles, almost always some, and not unfrequently all the male passengers called for liquor; and it often occurred, per force of tippling in this way, that some of the passengers became elevated and boisterous before the end of the journey.

The case is now entirely altered. Stages full of passengers frequently travel a whole day without liquor of any kind being used, which decent persons never call for. In fact, the commonest persons rarely indulge in tippling on the road in their travels.

Passengers formerly treated the drivers when they drank themselves, and often when they did not; the consequence was, that a large proportion of the drivers between New York and Washington, were worthless, ill clad, and worse behaved. They now rarely get drink from the passengers, and are generally decent and civil, and comfortably clothed.

Formerly at the tables d'hote in the large hotels, where sixty or seventy persons sat down to dinner, five-sixths of them drank grog or toddy, and one-half, or one-third, probably bad wine. At present it often happens at such places, that not above one in five or six, partakes of any other beverage than water; and this often occurs in hotels and steamboats, where no charge is made for liquor at dinner. This proves that the abstinence is

not the consequence of economy or parsimony, but results from habits of temperance and abhorrence of the use of ardent spirits.

Thirty or forty years ago, when visiters called at a friend's house, at eleven, twelve, or one o'clock, he was regarded as a miserable churl, who did not exhibit on his side-board liquors of different kinds, generally brandy and gin. Individuals fond of drinking, often went about at those hours spunging on their friends, tippling in each place, and thus laid the foundation of their ruin. The master of the house was wont to drink with each successive set, and thus, *force de boire*, often became a confirmed sot.

This pernicious practice is at present almost universally discarded—or, at least, it does not prevail to any great extent—not one-tenth of what it did formerly.

Most of these reforms, it is to be observed, took place before the establishment of temperance societies.

I am but little acquainted in the country, and cannot therefore pretend to pronounce an opinion on the subject, as regards that quarter; but a gentleman who is extensively acquainted through the state, assures me that a great reformation is perceptible.

The increase of temperance societies has produced a powerful effect. There are great numbers of them throughout the United States, the members whereof wholly abstain from the use of ardent spirits; and their example has a decided influence on the community where they are located. Numerous storekeepers who formerly dealt very extensively in ardent spirits, have wholly ceased to buy or sell them. There are entire villages in different parts of New England, where ardent spirits are neither bought nor sold.

These are all important items under the head of reform.

Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1829.

Emigration from Ireland, and Immigration into the United States.

The distressed situation of the Irish nation, particularly the working classes, from the redundance of population, and the want of adequate employment for them, even at the lowest possible rate to support existence, is well known, and has excited the sympathy of the humane and benevolent in this country.* Potatoes, one of the most abundant productions of the fruits of the earth, and perhaps the cheapest article of food, constitute three-fourths of the sustenance of nine-tenths of the labouring classes in Ireland. Thousands of them do not partake of animal food more than once a year.† A failure of the crop of potatoes produces famine—famine produces a species of pestilence—and this sometimes carries off its thousands and tens of thousands, who perish in the most deplorable state of destitution. 150,000 have been tenants of hospitals in one year.

On the other hand, the public works of the United States suffer great disadvantage from a deficiency of labourers, of whom 30,000 would be able to procure immediate employment in this country, and wages, to which they could never, in the wildest range of their imagination, have dared to aspire in their own country.

There is, moreover a great scarcity of hands for country labour, so many of the persons usually employed in that department, being employed on canals and turnpikes. The harvest has suffered in various places in consequence of this scarcity.

This deficiency of labourers has greatly increased the rate of wages; a dollar, and a dollar and a half per day, with board, have been given to country labourers of late in this state. Were this, however, the only difficulty or disadvantage, it would not be much to be regretted—as the best state of society is that in which labour is so well rewarded, as to afford a fair chance to the industrious and frugal, to rise gradually in the scale. This only diminishes the inordinate profits of capitalists, to add to the comforts of the thousands that depend on

* "The applicants for labour being so much above the demand, that they earn almost nothing, not even sixpence a day." British Report on Emigration, 1827, page 111.

† "The lower orders are in general very poor. *Their usual food is potatoes and milk.*" Mason's Statistical Survey of Ireland. Vol. ii. page 96.

them—"a consummation devoutly to be wished." The want of such a process is the great cause of half the misery and wickedness of mankind.

The great evil at present is, that at the actual high wages, which in some places for canal labourers, are 12, 13, and 15 dollars per month, with board and lodging, enough of people cannot be procured—and thus the completion of those grand instruments of national prosperity, canals and railroads, is greatly retarded.

To apply a remedy to those evils, would be highly salutary to the two nations, and must command the approbation and support of the benevolent of both.

I venture to propose a remedy, of easy application, and requiring only the co-operation of a few active individuals, and a very small sum of money.

Let a suitable agent be appointed to proceed forthwith to Ireland, with an authenticated statement of the situation of this country—the unparalleled advantages it holds out to the labouring classes as to food and clothing—the wages of labour—the prices of provisions—together with all the other items of information necessary to make them perfectly acquainted with what they have to expect, so that they may not be discouraged by exaggerated difficulties or embarrassments—nor, on the other hand, be led to indulge in golden dreams, or to form extravagant expectations, likely to end in disappointment.

The emigrants from Ireland and from other countries, may be divided into two great classes; those who are able to pay for their passage, and those whose poverty precludes them from this advantage.

For the former all that is necessary, in order to bring over thousands and tens of thousands annually, is to give them correct information, and to have associations in our sea-ports to direct them where to locate themselves in the interior, to prevent the waste of their slender means on their landing, and to guard them against becoming a prey to designing persons—a fate that has happened to too many of them heretofore.

The other class, unable to pay for their passage, will have to bind themselves for a term of time, adequate to compensate by their labour, for the expense of their passage, and the risk of sickness and of death. This subject requires great consideration.

Redemptioners, as they are called, have heretofore been

greatly oppressed, and advantage been taken of their necessities. They have been bound for three and four years, and sometimes for five, which have appeared to them somewhat like an eternity. Their fetters bore hard on them, and they, accordingly, have frequently been discontented, sullen and dogged—and run away.

To avoid this result, and do impartial justice to both parties, it is proposed that the term of servitude be reduced to that point, which will afford a remuneration for the expense of passage, and the risk of sickness and death. Let us examine what is that point.

A steerage passage from Ireland is 12 dollars; provisions probably 15 dollars, say on the whole 27 dollars. Wages of labour on canals vary from 10 to 15 dollars per month, exclusive of board—say only 10. If, therefore, a canal contractor had the faithful service of an active redemptioner for three months, he would stand merely on the same ground as if he, for that period, hired a free labourer at the minimum of current wages. But as various contingencies may arise—among the rest, sickness, which would subject the contractor to expense and loss, I presume that the period of servitude might with propriety be fixed for the present, at six months. This would save in wages, enough, beyond the passage money, to insure against every contingency. The period of service, too, would be so short, that there would be little temptation to, or danger of, elopement.

To guard as far as practicable against the danger of importing worthless, disorderly characters, it might be well for the agent to agree with none but such as produced proper recommendations from their clergymen, or from magistrates, for sobriety, industry, and honesty.

It might also be advisable to have them arranged in half dozens, each of whom to be responsible for the remaining five.

With these precautions, there is no danger of loss on the part of the persons paying the passages of the redemptioners. They will be amply indemnified—and the country will acquire a great accession of useful population.*

The plan as regards redemptioners, may be liable to objec-

* "There is no people on earth that are more amenable to the law than the Irish peasantry, if they are let alone." British Report on Emigration, 1827, page 153.

tions. None can lie against that which regards persons who can pay their passage.

With regard to the immigrants it is delightful to reflect on the advantages this plan holds out to them. It will transport them from the extreme of poverty and wretchedness; from the most abject state of existence, to superabundance of food, good clothing, and the prospect—honesty, frugality and industry presumed—of acquiring independence and wealth in due season! Those who may be the happy instruments of producing this result, to 20, 25, or 30,000 persons, per annum, will find it balm to their souls at the time when they shall be about to "shuffle off this mortal coil."

Numerous instances are to be found throughout this country, of Irish labourers on canals, who landed two or three years since in extreme poverty, and are now comfortably settled in small houses of their own.

The advantages of this plan will not be confined to the emigrants. The population that remain, will profit by the increased value of labour.

It may not be improper to count the cost of this undertaking. A suitable person might be procured for 200 or 250 dollars, exclusive of his expenses, which need not exceed $350—a paltry sum compared with the object in view. To a single person under a large contract, it would be worth while to defray the whole expense, which would be amply compensated. But ten or a dozen contractors would very probably unite.

The agent might finish his operations in two or three months —as, when the business was once under way, it would go on without any further interference. The favourable accounts of the first settlers would induce thousands to follow. If the business be undertaken with proper spirit, I should not despair of seeing 20, 25, or 30,000 arrive annually. The English government would probably co-operate in the effectuation of this plan, as they are desirous to have a portion of the superfluous population exported.

The plan might be advantageously extended to Germany and Switzerland, under the auspices of the German Societies established in our sea-ports.

In order to test the disposition of the public to patronize this undertaking, it is proposed that meetings be held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, on

the 11th of August next, to take the subject into consideration. Contractors in contiguous situations might be invited to attend.*

Philadelphia, July 18, 1828.

Address to those on whom Heaven has bestowed the goods of fortune, and, what is more valuable, hearts to make a proper use of them for the public benefit.†

"Cari sunt parentes—cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est, pro quâ quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus?"‡—*Cicero.*

Philadelphia, October 11, 1824.

It is proposed to form a society in this city for the promotion of national improvements, of which the object shall be to collect into one focus, and to disseminate throughout the United States, the most valuable and correct information that can be procured, on the subject of the construction of canals, roads, bridges, railways, steam-engines, and other objects tending to advance "the national wealth, power, and resources," as well as individual prosperity. But while concerns of national interest will occupy a due share of the attention of, and their promotion be among the great ends proposed by, the society, internal improvement within our own state, will be its primary object.

It is contemplated to publish and distribute gratuitously small pamphlets of thirty or forty pages, six or eight times a

* This plan, which could scarcely have failed to be eminently beneficial to Ireland and the United States, met with no encouragement, and of course did not go into operation.

† This address led to the formation of "the Pennsylvania Society, for the Promotion of Internal Improvement," which was organized, Nov. 30, 1824. They raised nearly 6000 dollars, and commissioned Mr. Strickland, a respectable architect and engineer, to proceed to Europe to procure information on the subject of railroads, canals, bridges, &c., which he accomplished much to their satisfaction, and to the great advantage of the nation. The publications and efforts of this society accelerated the march of internal improvement in Pennsylvania; some persons believe ten years—others six or seven. The latter is highly probable.

‡ "Dear to us are our parents—dear our children—dear our relations and our friends—but all these holy ties are embraced by our beloved country, for which who would hesitate to lay down his life, if such a sacrifice would promote her prosperity?"

year, on the above important subjects—and, as most important improvements have within a few years been made in Great Britain in the construction of roads and railways, in cutting canals, and in steam-engines, it is also contemplated to send some duly qualified person to Great Britain, to examine in person, and report to the society such improvements in these various objects as are not in use in this country.

As long experience has proved that societies, of which the members are very numerous, and the subscriptions small, are generally inefficient for great objects, it has been determined to limit the number of members of this society to twenty-five.* But as the effectuation of the great objects of the society will require considerable expenditures, it is contemplated to have the subscription for the first year one hundred dollars, payable in four instalments—one-fourth when the society is organized —one-fourth in four months—one-fourth in eight—and the remainder in twelve months. Future subscriptions will be regulated by the society.

It is unnecessary to expatiate largely on the immense advantage which such a society, prosecuted with a due degree of zeal, commensurate with its great objects, cannot fail to produce—as they must forcibly strike even superficial observers. We shall barely observe, that, passing over the lavish expenditures on abortive or injudicious attempts at making canals, the money squandered through the mistaken system on which our turnpike roads are constructed, is probably at least 25 or 30 per cent. of the whole cost—and it would not be extravagant to estimate this loss in the United States within the last ten years, at a million of dollars, which might have been saved by adopting the modern improvements in road making.

Among the inducements to this undertaking, it may be mentioned that the great question now pending, of opening a navigable communication between the Atlantic states and those to the westward, demands the utmost vigilance on the part of the citizens of Pennsylvania. It is one of the most important questions for the lasting interests of the state that has ever been agitated. Should the decision be incorrect, and the route by the Chesapeake be adopted, nearly the whole of what remains of the western trade, will be irrecoverably lost to Philadelphia, and go to the aggrandizement of Washington and the circumjacent country. Every man, therefore, who has any interest in

* The number was increased to forty-eight.

Philadelphia, whether as owner of real estate, merchant, trader, mechanic, or manufacturer, or as cultivator of the soil, which supplies our metropolis with provisions and other necessaries, ought to use all his energies to avert this catastrophe. There is nothing so well calculated to answer this important end, as to spread abroad sound views of the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two rival routes. This is one of the chief objects of the association. If the investigation of the subject be conducted with a due degree of zeal and diligence, the result cannot be doubtful.

To connect Lake Erie with the Alleghany river by means of a canal, has been found perfectly practicable. Two examinations of the country have been made; one by commissioners under the authority of the government of Pennsylvania, in 1823: the other by the United States' Engineers in 1824. This connexion may be accomplished by taking the canal along the Beaver river; or by descending from the Coneaut Lake, along the French Creek. The latter course would form the junction of the lake with the Alleghany at the French Creek, one hundred and thirty miles, by the river, above Pittsburg; and a canal along the river to that Birmingham of America, would be attended with no extraordinary difficulty. The canal by the Beaver would enter at the mouth of that river about fifty miles below Pittsburg, and almost on the extreme verge of Pennsylvania.

The most obvious channel of communication between the Ohio and the Chesapeake is by means of the Juniata, in connexion with the Alleghany. Another, and supposed to be a practicable and cheap route for a canal, is along Toby's Creek and its waters from the Alleghany river to the west branch of the Susquehanna. Either route would be one-half cheaper than the one contemplated by the Chesapeake and Ohio. And yet a map has been recently published by Mr. Shriver, which appears intended to forestal the question, as if it were fully decided by the proper authorities. It is entitled "Map of the country through which a canal to connect the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio, is intended to pass." This direction of the proposed communication would be a fatal stroke to the prosperity of Pennsylvania.

Can it then be possible, that in the wealthy city of Philadelphia, there will be any difficulty in procuring the specified number of subscribers to an association, with such views, and

promising such copious harvests of national, state, and individual advantage? Surely not. To stimulate our citizens to patronize this undertaking, it may be sufficient to state, that to societies of this description, no small portion of the prosperity of Great Britain is due. In that country, men of wealth and influence are proud to distinguish themselves by their liberality in patronizing every undertaking, of which the object is to promote the public prosperity. We shall instance only one institution out of numbers which might be adduced. The society for the promotion of arts, manufactures and commerce,* composed of about 1740 members, of whom 286 are for life, with a subscription of twenty guineas, is a glorious monument of public spirit and genuine patriotism, which, by its beneficent efforts, does honour to the British nation. When will the United States behold such a society in operation? The day, we fear, is far distant; for it is a melancholy truth, which we deeply regret to state, that too many of our wealthy and influential citizens withdraw themselves wholly from the patronage of arts, sciences, literature, and every kind of public improvement.

There are, it is true, some honourable exceptions—but they are, alas! too few; for nine-tenths of all the contributions in this city for great public purposes, except where handsome dividends are expected, are derived from the members of the learned professions—and from those merchants, traders, and manufacturers, who form the middle classes of society. The great burden of these contributions falls on a very small number of persons, and to some of them is extremely oppressive, as it is too often beyond their means, and very far indeed beyond the just proportion of the claims of society on them for such purposes.

As soon as twenty subscribers are procured, it is intended to elect the officers, who shall be a president—vice-president—treasurer—secretary—and a committee of correspondence and publication.

* It may serve as a stimulus to our citizens to follow the example of the illustrious society above mentioned, to state, that in the year 1821, it offered no less than 421 medals, of which 185 were gold, and 236 silver. The value of the gold medals varied from 20 to 100 guineas—of the silver from 10 to 15. Averaging the former at 35 guineas, and the latter at 12, the amount is 10,787 guineas, equal to above 40,000 dollars, offered as premiums in one year. What a source of laudable pride to an Englishman!

MISCELLANEA.

From the Port Folio, the Emporium, &c.

NAMES.—I have been often struck with the absurdity displayed by many parents in christening their children. However extravagant the idea may seem, it really appears as if they were unacquainted with, or did not consider, what is the object of names, and that they are intended to distinguish one human being from another. This object is greatly neglected when Christian names of any particular kind are generally bestowed on persons of the same surname. When the surname is a very common one, as Taylor, Smith, Thompson, Johnson, &c. a very common Christian name, John, James, or Thomas, ought to be carefully avoided, as productive of inconvenience.

I have now before me the Philadelphia Directories, for 1796, 1798, and 1809, and the London Directory, for 1799; in the first, there are no less than seventeen John Smiths, nine Thomas Smiths, and ten John Thompsons. In the second there are likewise seventeen John Smiths, seven Thomas Smiths, and eight John Thompsons. In the Directory for this year, there are twenty-six John Smiths, eight Samuel Smiths, eighteen William Smiths, eight Thomas Smiths, and ten John Thompsons. In the London Directory, for 1799, there are fifty William Smiths, fifty-six Thomas Smiths, and no less than seventy John Smiths, exclusive of twenty-five J. Smiths, whom I pass over, as uncertain whether the abbreviated name is John, James or Joseph. It is easy to conceive what numerous errors and disadvantages must arise from the confusion of these names; how many letters must go to persons for whom they were not intended; how many family secrets must in consequence be revealed; how many mistakes must take place respecting notes and debts; and how extremely difficult it must be to guard against these mistakes.

I have known two instances of persons of respectable characters in this city, who had the misfortune to be namesakes to two men notorious for characters of a contrary description. The iniquities of the latter were frequently visited very vexatiously on the heads of the former.

In some parts of New England, where the paternal Christian name is perpetuated in the oldest son, and in the grandson, there is a mode of distinction, which I have never observed

elsewhere. Instead of annexing senior and junior, as we do, they add 2d, to the son's name; and, when the grandson is grown up, they add to his name 3d. I have seen in a Connecticut paper, Jethro Allen, Jethro Allen 2d, and Jethro Allen 3d. This is a troublesome appendage, and arises from the absurd prejudice that so generally prevails with fathers to dignify their oldest sons with their own Christian names.

In certain parts of Maryland, there is a mode of distinction, peculiar, I believe, to that State. Where there are two persons of the same name, of different parents, they annex the paternal Christian name to the name of the son. Thus, William Hanson of William, and William Hanson of Frederic, mean, on supplying the ellipsis, William Hanson, son of William Hanson; and William Hanson, son of Frederic Hanson.

In the choice of Christian names there is a great diversity of tastes. Many persons, particularly in New England, prefer the Old Testament names, which are now less fashionable than they were formerly. They have Asas, Abrahams, Jonathans, Jònadabs, Jehoshaphats, Solomons, Elijahs, Deborahs, Sarahs, and Ruths. Novel-reading ladies deal largely in a totally different class of names, of a romantic cast. They flourish away with Clelias, Cecilias, Henriettas, Wilhelminas, &c. Goldsmith had such ladies in view, when he so formally introduced to notice among his dramatis personæ, the all-accomplished and incomparable Lady Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs. Persons of plain common sense choose among a large class of names, which fall not within the two above described, and are certainly preferable to either. This class embraces the Georges, the Frederics, the Edwards, the Henrys, the Peters, the Charleses, the Williams, the Roberts, the Marias, the Elizas, the Ellens, &c. &c.

Some time since, there were two persons in New York, of the name of John Glover. Their letters were frequently and vexatiously delivered at cross purposes. They had an interview, to agree upon some distinction, to put an end to the inconvenience. They judged it eligible to insert a letter between the Christian and surname. But, strange to tell, they chose the two letters least adapted for their purpose, of any in the alphabet. One wrote his name John G. Glover, and the other John J. Glover. The distinction on paper, it is true, is strongly enough marked.

In Philadelphia, we had a case sometime since, not very dis-

similar. There were two persons of the name of John Jones, who were as much harassed by mistakes of letters, &c. as the Messrs. Glover. They adopted the distinction of John Jones M. and John M. Jones.—*Port Folio, March*, 1809, *p.* 251.

Titles of Books.—Many a valuable work has been injured in its circulation, through the folly or affectation of the writer, in giving it a quaint name, not at all indicative of its contents. "The Diversions of Purley." Who could ever have supposed that this was a most valuable philological work, probably the most elaborate ever offered to the world? Surely no human being. One of the most interesting books I have ever read on Indian affairs, remained for a long time unnoticed and neglected, from the quaintness of its title. It is called "Indian Recreations." Numbers probably, as well as I, supposed it to be an account of the diversions of the Hindoos. Whereas, it is an account of their manners, customs, government, policy, and population; and possesses an uncommon degree of merit.—*Idem*, *p.* 253.

Vicar of Wakefield.—It may seem like literary heresy, to call in question the excellence of such a popular and interesting work, as the Vicar of Wakefield. Yet it has always appeared to me liable to very strong objections, which militate against the judgment of the writer. That it has many uncommonly brilliant passages, elegant descriptions, and just and appropriate sentiments, is beyond a doubt. And what is of infinitely more importance, it is equally true, that the moral is excellent. But can the warmest admirer of Goldsmith deny, that the character of Burchell is injudiciously drawn? that his conduct is radically wrong in one most important point, and in utter discordance with the beneficence ascribed to him? He sees a family, with whom he contemplates an alliance, beset by villany of the most flagrant kind; and tamely looks on, when, by raising his little finger in their defence, he could have saved them from destruction, and crushed their oppressor to the earth. The letter which he writes to put them on their guard, is so studiedly ambiguous, that it did not require the arrant delusion under which the ill-fated family laboured, to interpret its contents entirely to the prejudice of the writer. Indeed this is by

far the most obvious construction that any indifferent person would put upon it. And, when taxed with baseness, and perfidy of the vilest kind, he does not condescend to exculpate himself, but allows the family to consider his guilt as tacitly admitted. He then departs, loaded with their detestation; and leaves the helpless and interesting victims to fall into the toils so artfully spread out to ensnare them. This is a radical error, and proves Goldsmith to have been extremely injudicious in the management of the plot of his tale.—*Idem, p.* 254.

Theatre.—It excites surprise to see the great diversity of manners and customs, that prevails among people who have unceasing intercourse together, and who live not far distant from each other. Many of these diversities are observable between the citizens of New York, and those of Philadelphia. Among the rest, some of the prescriptive customs of the theatre are widely different. In New York, no female of any description whatever is ever seen in the pit. Here there are frequently to be found in the pit as many females as males. And I think, of one hundred of the former found in the pit, and the same number in the boxes, at least twenty might, without impropriety, change places; that is, there are to be found about a fifth in each of these two parts of the theatre, that are on a perfect equality. The regulation of Philadelphia is, I think, the more eligible; as the tendency of the New York mode is to narrow the circle of female amusements, and debar a portion of the women from the theatre altogether.

There is another regulation in the New York Theatre, that places it on higher ground than that of Philadelphia. There is in the former, a place which custom appears to have appropriated for the votaries of Venus exclusively, at least so far, that no woman of decent character ever goes there. The frail ones are not allowed, as far as the prohibition is practicable, that is, as far as they are known, to intrude into the other parts of the house. In Philadelphia, on the contrary, unless seats are previously taken, a man is often liable to have a Lais, a Phryne, or a Perditta, take a seat beside, or close behind his wife, or daughter, and offend their ears during the whole performance, with their gross conversations with young fellows, who appear to glory in their shame, by consorting thus public-

ly with these abandoned women. This is a sore grievance, and loudly calls for a remedy.—*Ibid.*

VOLTAIRE.—Men of great talents seem to think that they possess a privilege of playing the fool with impunity, and of passing on the world the most extravagant assertions, which are to be implicitly received as so many oracular verities. In the writings of Voltaire there are numerous instances in support of this position. I shall at present only instance one. He very gravely informs the world that there were but two things passable among the Egyptians: one, that those who adored a bull, sought not to make those who adored an ape, change their religion; the other, that they discovered the art of hatching eggs in ovens. The wildest maniac ever confined in the cells of Bedlam could not hazard a much more absurd assertion than this. Many of the laws and customs of this nation display profound sagacity, and are worthy of imitation among the most civilized nations. I shall just glance at a few of their salutary laws, which will not suffer by comparison with those of any other ancient nation:

Every person in Egypt, the king as well as the lowest individual, was subject to trial after death. The inquest was conducted with great formality, and under the wisest rules. Every person who pleased might give testimony. If sufficient proofs of guilt appeared against the defunct, his corpse was debarred from burial, which was regarded as the greatest possible punishment, and an eternal disgrace. The dread of this posthumous condemnation operated as a most salutary and effectual check against the perpetration of crimes.

Among most ancient nations, particularly the Romans, the life of a slave was, O most horrible injustice! at the mercy of the master. And the murder of a slave by any other person, was not considered a capital crime. Whereas in Egypt there was no distinction between the murder of a slave and that of a freeman.

He who refused or neglected, when in his power, to save a man's life from the dagger of an assassin, was liable to the same punishment as the assassin.

No man was allowed to be useless to the State.

Old age was held in as much feverence in Egypt as in any

part of the world. The Spartans, observes Rollin, borrowed this just and wise custom from the Egyptians.

False accusers, as among the Hebrews, were subject to the same punishment as would have awaited the objects of their accusation, had they been found guilty.

The people were educated from their earliest age in the knowledge of the laws, and their observance was inculcated on them by every possible means.

It were an endless task to go into a full examination. Enough has been said to prove, that to pass a general censure upon these and various other excellent laws and customs, and to eulogize the nation for discovering the art of hatching eggs in ovens, is the quintessence of folly.—*Idem, May*, 1809, *p.* 426.

Biblical Note.—It is a remarkable fact, that there are in this city two Bibles, each of which wants a verse. The one is an old quarto, published in Edinburgh, anno 1728, which wants the 23d verse of the 29th chapter of Genesis. The other is a pocket Bible, published in London, anno 1698, by Charles Bell, which wants the 32d verse of the 10th chapter of Luke. The first is in the possession of Mr. D. Humphreys; the other belongs to the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie.

In the table of kindred and affinity annexed to the Scotch Bible, published anno 1795, by Mark and Charles Kerr, under royal patronage, is the following ludicrous prohibition—*a man may not marry his wife's mother's brother.*—Idem, p. 427.

Earthquake at Lisbon.—Among the frightful and odious views under which human nature has sometimes exhibited itself, I know of none more shocking than what occurred during the earthquake at Lisbon, anno 1755. By the convulsion, the walls of some of the prisons were thrown down, and the wretches therein confined, were thus liberated from durance. Bands of them paraded the streets, with torches in their hands, setting fire to the city, and robbing and murdering the inhabitants, during the most awful period, while the earth was rocking under their feet, ready to swallow them up, and land them on those awful shores, "from whose bourne no traveller returns." —*Idem, p.* 425.

HORRIBLE REFINEMENT IN CRUELTY.—Perhaps cruelty was never exhibited under a more hideous form, than in the case of a wretch condemned to death for murder, by one of the Emperor's officers in 1525. He was obliged to collect together a heap of fire-wood, round a stake fixed in the ground. As soon as he had performed this task, he was fastened to the stake by a chain that extended a very small distance beyond the pile, which was then set on fire. Trying to escape the flames, he ran round the pile, and was thus literally roasted alive. See Ferriar's Illustrations of Sterne, page 235.—*Ibid.*

UNSEATED LANDS.—Perhaps there is hardly any thing in the political regulations of America, that is more improper than the system that prevails in some of these States, respecting unseated lands. It is pregnant with ruinous consequences to many of the land-holders, and opens scenes of rapacity and fraud, which loudly call for a reform. These lands are, as they ought to be, taxed for the purpose of promoting the settlement of them, by discouraging a tendency towards monopoly of vast tracts of lands, in the hands of wealthy individuals, equal to German and Italian principalities. The owners of those lands, or a large proportion of them at least, reside at a great distance. They are, generally, ignorant of the amount of the taxes, and of the place where they are to be paid; and, even if they know them, are liable to neglect the payment, owing to the pressure of business, and that spirit of procrastination which holds almost universal empire over mankind. The lands are, in consequence of this neglect, sold for the taxes. Combinations are formed by neighbouring settlers, and under the solemn mockery of the semblance of justice, tracts worth probably hundreds or thousands of dollars, are sold for as many cents. This is no ideal case. A valued friend of mine has irretrievably lost 1000 acres of land in the state of Ohio, that cost him 2000 dollars, for about three years taxes, amounting to about 20 dollars! It is not easy to conceive of greater injustice perpetrated almost without murmur on the part of the sufferers. It is no small aggravation of the severity of the case, that many of the land-holders have been compelled to take these very lands in payment of just debts long due to them by traders to the westward, and which debts were finally liquidated by receiving the lands at extravagant prices.

The remedy is easy and simple. It is not a mere matter of speculation. It has been tried, and found efficacious. New York, greatly to her honour, has relieved herself from the shame and disgrace of such scenes of rapine.

The unpaid taxes on unseated lands form a distinct fund, which bears interest. The interest is yearly added to the principal. To this objections may be made, as it is actually compound interest. But the objection is grounded wholly on inveterate prejudice; for, as the tax ought, of right, to be paid yearly, and as in that case the money might be put out to interest, which would be so much increase of the capital of the State; it is but reasonable that the State should not suffer by the delinquency of its citizens, nor would it be just that they should benefit by that delinquency.

The amount of the taxes and interest forms a lien upon the lands, and is an effectual bar against any alienation of them, while it remains unpaid.

Notwithstanding the high per centage, and the compound interest, the lands generally rise in value, in a much greater proportion than the increase of the amount of the debt to the State.

To the powerful State of Pennsylvania, let me say in the words of Scripture:—

"Go—do thou likewise."

Idem, April, 1809, *p.* 348.

EDUCATION EPITOMIZED.—There are numberless books extant on the subject of education, and many of them possessed of very considerable merit. I have, however, lately met with two lines of a venerable old writer, which appear to embrace the quintessence of the moral education of children. They are in a work of great merit, which is very scarce, a copy whereof is to be found in our city library. It is called "Introductio ad Prudentiam—by Thomas Fuller." Be it observed, that although the title is in Latin, the work is in English. The lines are—"Let your *first* lesson to your children be OBEDIENCE. The *second* may be *what you please.*" I should consider it an affront to the reader's understanding to suppose a comment necessary.—*Idem, p.* 114, *Feb.* 1810.

A Cruel Fair One.—Perhaps a more wanton exposure of the life of a brave man, and a faithful lover, has never occurred, than in the case I subjoin. In the reign of Francis I., M. de Lorges, a man of great merit, paid his addresses for a considerable time to a young lady, by whom they were favourably received. The lovers were present at a fight of lions, given on some grand occasion by the monarch. The lady, with a hideous degree of levity, folly and cruelty, threw her glove into the arena, and told her lover, if his affection for her was sincere, he must go and bring it to her. Without a moment's hesitation he undauntedly descended—put his cap over one hand—and took his sword in the other. Very fortunately the lions made no attempt to molest him; and he was therefore enabled to obey the hard-hearted fair without injury. When he returned, he threw the glove at her with a high degree of resentment for the wanton and unfeeling manner in which she had exposed his life to such imminent hazard. He never renewed his suit. —*Ibid.*

A Striking Contrast.—To the preceding story I shall furnish a very remarkable and striking contrast. About the beginning of the last century, when it was fashionable in Spain for gentlemen of the first respectability to take a part in the bull fights, as a point of honour, a young cavalier having learned that a number of the most ferocious bulls of the mountains were to be exhibited at a bull feast, resolved to engage with one of them in honour of a young lady, to whom he was betrothed. She used every possible means to prevent him—begged, prayed and implored. It was all in vain. He was inflexibly determined to carry his purpose into execution. On the day appointed, he advanced into the arena, and had hardly begun the attack, when an elegant stripling rushed in and stepped between him and the bull. In a few minutes the bold assailant received a mortal wound, and in falling, discovered so much of the visage, as satisfied the distressed cavalier that it was his beloved fair one, who, in the fruitless attempt to rescue him from destruction, had fallen a victim herself. He then made a still more desperate attack upon the bull, which he killed—but in the combat received several mortal wounds. He was taken away, and laid in the same chamber with the faithful but unfor-

tunate fair one. They were both consigned to one common grave.—*Ibid.*

Sense and Understanding.—There appears considerable confusion in the use of these terms. They are sometimes employed as if they were synonymous—but generally as conveying meanings very different. The latter, I believe, is the correct mode.

So far from their being synonymous, or the possession of the one quality implying the co-existence of the other, I am persuaded that the instances of persons endowed with the one, and nearly or totally devoid of the other, are much more numerous than those in which they are combined together.

I have in vain sought in works on British Synonymy, for any explanation that would reflect light upon the subject.

By sense, in its usual acceptation, is implied that sober quality, which is sometimes styled prudence, or discretion, and whose operations are principally directed to just opinions, and correct conduct, in the common affairs of life. It is likewise termed good sense and common sense.

Understanding is a faculty of a higher order. It implies considerable intellectual endowments—quick perceptions—nice discrimination—brilliant imagination, &c. &c.

To exemplify this theory. A man may not only possess intellectual powers of the first class, but have those powers cultivated to the highest degree by education, and intercourse with society—he may be profoundly skilled in all the arts and sciences—be a first rate poet and painter—be equal as an orator to Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham, Burke, or Curran—and yet be so deficient in sense, as to render himself not merely ridiculous, but contemptible. He may, in fine, exemplify what the witty Rochester wrote of Charles II:

> "Who never *said* a foolish thing—
> And never *did* a wise one."

Let us examine the other side of the question. There are numbers of men to be found, who are not only ignorant of all the arts and sciences, but by nature totally incapable of acquiring them—whose perceptions are to the last degree dull—who cannot write twenty connected lines on any plain subject in the humblest prose—who can scarcely discriminate between blank verse and rhyme, or between a drawing and an engraving—and

some of whom can neither read nor write—and who nevertheless in all the affairs of the world, display so much of that valuable quality, sense, as not only seldom or never to render themselves ridiculous, but to pass through the world with esteem and respect.—*Ibid.*

Duelling.—The great increase of the practice of duelling has very justly excited considerable indignation in the public mind, and called forth the interference of some of our legislatures, and other public bodies of men, in the hope, may it not be in vain! of arresting its further progress. Society ought to frown down the perpetrators of this outrage upon all laws, human and divine. Among the victims to the perverted idea of honour, which is the parent of duelling, may be enumerated some of the most valuable men this country has produced. It is not long since, there were accounts in a single gazette of three duels, two of them fatal.

The reader will doubtless learn with horror, that in the reign of Henry IV. of France, which extended to twenty-one years, no less than four thousand persons were murdered in France in this summary mode. So predominant was the rage for duelling at that era, that a gentleman who had never fought a duel, was but lightly esteemed in the fashionable world. And the horrible infatuation extended so far, that he who had killed three, or four, or five, was in much higher reputation, than he who had only killed one or two.—*Idem*, *p.* 116.

Tenacity of the Vital Principle.—There are men to be met with, each of whom has undergone as much corporeal injury as has sufficed to hurry half a dozen, or a dozen others, to "that country from whose bourne no traveller returns." There is at present in Lexington, Kentucky, a most remarkable instance of this kind. John R. Shaw, a well-digger, besides having experienced a great number of other accidents and misfortunes, has been four times blown up and miserably mangled in blasting rocks in the line of his profession. He has actually lost one eye, four fingers, one thumb, and seven toes. I annex an extract from the statement published by Dr. Fishback, of the fourth accident, to convey an idea to the reader of the lamentable havoc that was made upon him. "The skull was fractured

upon the frontal bone, a little to the right of its middle, and just below the edge of the hair. In consequence of a very considerable depression, it became necessary to trepan the part, by which a great number of small pieces of bone were taken out, and the depression entirely removed. The bone forming the wall of the external corner of the left eye, was likewise broken, which was also removed. His right shin bone was very much shattered. The left arm was fractured in one place, with the loss of two fingers, and the rest very much bruised. His right arm was broken in two places, one just above the wrist, and the other at the elbow, with a considerable injury of the hand. The skin upon the breast and stomach was very much bruised and cut; from which I infer he was leaning over the blast. His mouth, nose, skin of the face, eyes and head, were exceedingly wounded. Having several years before lost the use of his right eye, but little hopes remained, should he recover, of his ever enjoying the advantage of sight again, as the surface of the remaining eye was considerably bruised and torn by a number of small pieces of stone. In addition to the above, his face was enormously swelled, and covered with blood, gunpowder, and dirt, so that it was utterly impossible to recognise the lineaments of John R. Shaw."

It must be agreeable information to the reader to state that this mangled object has quite recovered, and still follows his profession. He has lately written and published his life and adventures, wherein are to be found many extraordinary and interesting events and hair-breadth escapes.—*Idem, p.* 117.

Legal Forms.—Lord Kaimes, in his very interesting work, entitled "Sketches of the History of Man," (which, by the way, deserves to be much oftener perused than it has been of late years,) informs us of two capital convictions having been set aside in England, in consequence of very small errors in the indictments. In one case, *murderavit* was used instead of *murdravit;* in the other, *feloniter* for *felonice!!!*

Three or four years since, an atrocious ruffian, of the name of Donelly, was, on the clearest evidence, convicted at Carlisle, in this state, of having murdered his wife with almost every possible circumstance of the most hideous barbarity. To enter into the frightful detail would cost too much to the feelings of a reader of sensibility. After conviction his counsel moved to

have the verdict set aside on various grounds, among which one was an error in the verdict of the grand jury. In that document it was stated that they found the bill on their oaths and *affirmations*, whereas there was but *one* of them affirmed. I am happy to be able to add that the court overruled the objections, and did not allow the odious malefactor to elude the stern requisitions of distributive justice. He was deservedly offered up, on the gallows, a victim to the violated laws of humanity.—*Ibid.*

Pay what Thou Owest.—When I see a husband spending his money and his time in taverns, and forsaking his wife and his family, I say, *Pay what thou owest.*

When I see a wife intent almost solely upon dress, abandoning her domestic concerns to destruction, while she is parading through the streets to exhibit her divine person, and elegant accomplishments, I say, *Pay what thou owest.*

When I see a father or a mother neglecting the education of their children, and suffering them to run wild in the streets, in the high road to perdition, without the smallest effort to rescue them by parental authority, I say, *Pay what thou owest.*

When I see a child who has been tenderly brought up by fond and doating parents, treating them with disrespect, and inattention, perhaps with cruelty, in their old age, I say, in the most emphatical manner, *Pay what thou owest.*

When I see a man giving large and expensive entertainments; living in a style of princely extravagance, regardless of the ruinous consequences to his fortune; and, at the same time putting off the payment of tradesmen's bills, under the most frivolous pretences, I am ready to cry out, in a voice of thunder, *Pay what thou owest.*—Ibid.

Conversation—Spirit of Contradiction.—So much of the most valuable enjoyment of rational beings depends upon conversation, that it may be worth while to devote a little attention to the subject.

It is to be regretted that some vices and imperfections which, at first blush, do not appear of much consequence, as effectually, in many instances, mar our happiness, as crimes of no small magnitude. It would be sufficient illustration of this idea, to state, that I may be rendered as miserable by a gross outrage

offered me by a rude man, who violates my feelings extremely, as by the loss I sustain from a person who takes an undue advantage of me, or who tricks me fraudulently out of my property. But it is not with a view to this point that I have laid down the position. For the present, I confine myself entirely to the almost universal, but highly reprehensible, custom of wanton and petulant contradiction in conversation, which so frequently engenders strife, animosity, revenge, and not unfrequently bloodshed.

In company, when a fact is stated, or an opinion offered, it almost always happens, that a certain portion of the hearers, instead of reflecting whether they may not, without impropriety, or a violation of veracity, assent to the opinion, or admit the fact, torture their imaginations to find out any improbability in the latter, or exception to the former. The first is by far the most unjustifiable; and, if the fact be stated on the authority of the narrator, is a violation of the fundamental rules of decency and politeness, amounting absolutely to a declaration that the speaker lies. This procedure is so truly shocking, that no person who has the smallest pretensions to the character of a gentleman, will be guilty of it. Of those accustomed to act thus, I say with Horace:

"Hi nigri sunt: hos, tu, Romane, caveto."

On the subject of opinions advanced, the case is somewhat different. Contradiction here is not by any means so offensive or ungentlemanly. But even in this case much impropriety of conduct and gross errors prevail. There are many persons, highly estimable in every other point of view, who, when a position is advanced, which is perfectly correct, in nineteen cases out of twenty, overlook the nineteen cases which, according to all the rules of politeness, not only admit, but imperiously demand assent. They advance the solitary exception, and on that hazard a flat and unqualified contradiction. The speaker is reduced to the very unpleasant alternative of either abandoning in silence the ground he has taken, and thus yielding an easy triumph to his ungentlemanly opponent, or else of entering into a long and tedious argument to support his opinion. If he adopt the latter plan, it produces a similar effort on the opposite side. The consequence is too frequently irritation and anger between the parties. And thus is too often banished the harmony of the whole circle.

It is unnecessary to state how diametrically opposite this is to the character and conduct of a gentleman. I venture to assert that urbanity requires us frequently to pass over in silence opinions which we have reason to believe entirely erroneous: for if we are to contradict every thing we hear advanced in company, which we disbelieve, it destroys the chief pleasures of social intercourse, and changes conversation into disputation and contention. I would not, however, be understood to mean, that we should pretend assent, when our convictions would be in hostility with our words. This would be simulation and deception, and on the man who should practise it, would affix the stamp of degradation.

To the rule laid down in the preceding paragraph, there will be many opposed. They will assert that our "silence gives assent;" that it is disingenuous not to controvert error wherever we meet it; and advance various other reasons somewhat plausible. I am, however, firmly convinced of the propriety of the rule, and of the advantages that would result from the general observance of it. But whatever may be the diversity of sentiment respecting that, there cannot, among rational or polite people, be any on the subject of another rule, which I strongly recommend to the observance of those who honour my lucubrations with a perusal, and that is, never, on any account, to controvert a position which is substantially correct, merely because they can imagine an exception to it; nor to express a doubt of a fact because it is improbable. I believe that this rule cannot, in any instance, be violated without a departure from those rules that ought to regulate the conduct of a gentleman.

I add one more observation. The less a man has seen—the more scanty his intellectual powers—and the more contracted his knowledge, the more prone he is to doubt the truth of every extraordinary fact he hears, and to controvert any idea out of the narrow track of his own paltry conceptions. He makes his thimble-full of brains the infallible test of right and wrong. He who has had opportunities of seeing the world on a large scale, or who has perused books extensively, must have seen and read of numberless things which will appear incredible, nay, impossible, to the insignificant animal who has not gone beyond his A, B, C, in study, and has always vegetated upon the spot where Nature thought fit to place him. The former has read of various incidents of the most extraordinary kind, which are

nevertheless established on the very best authority. To the latter these appear as extravagant as the wild stories of Sir John Mandeville, of one-eyed and headless nations.—*Idem, p.* 119.

Same Subject.—A few evenings since, I was in a company in which the effects of Thomas Paine's writings, in the early stage of the American Revolution, was a subject of conversation, and finally of ardent dispute. One gentleman boldly contended that they had had no effect whatever—that the mass of the nation had been previously prepared for independence—that there was none any way doubtful or hesitating, but the wealthy and higher orders generally, who could not be affected by such a flimsy composition as Common Sense. Another asserted with equal earnestness, that "Common Sense" had been eminently instrumental in reconciling the public to independence—and in removing the objections that had been made to it by many of the warmest friends of the liberty of this country. In a word, he stated on the authority of the late John Dunlap, and numbers of other persons of the very best information, that some weeks previous to the appearance of Common Sense, it was highly unpopular to advocate a declaration of independence, whereas some weeks afterwards it was equally unpopular to advocate any thing short of that bold measure. He added, on the same authority, that carts-full of the pamphlets were dispersed in every quarter, under the direction and at the expense of the committee of safety.

The parties could not agree, and the dispute terminated as such foolish disputes usually do, in a downright altercation. Each party obstinately persisted in the assertion of his opinion—and there was no umpire to decide.

The dispute had no reference whatever to any other part of the career of Mr. Paine, or to his character either then or subsequently thereto—It merely referred to that portion of his political writings, styled "Common Sense." This is necessary to be distinctly understood, in order to form a correct estimate of the merits of the question.

As other persons besides the first party alluded to above, may entertain the same erroneous opinions of the revolutionary services of Mr. Paine, it may not be unentertaining to your readers to furnish authentic testimony on the subject, so as to remove all doubt, and to enable them to form a correct estimate

on one of the leading points of the most important period of the history of their country. I therefore annex extracts from a work, of indisputable authority on the subject.* Before I close this introduction, I cannot help lamenting the immense folly of that spirit of contradiction, which is so very prevalent; which leads to so many frivolous disputes; which so frequently breaks up long established intimacies and friendships, and has as often as any other cause, led to duelling and bloodshed. Although we ought by no means to assent to what we disbelieve; nevertheless we are not called upon dogmatically to contradict every fact stated or opinion advanced in our hearing to which we cannot assent. This would lead to debates and disputes, and destroy the pleasure of conversation.

Our minds are so variously formed—our opinions so very

* *From Ramsay's History of the United States, vol. 2., p.* 154.

"While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these, Thomas Paine, in a pamphlet under the signature of Common Sense, held the most distinguished rank. *The style, manner and language of this performance were calculated to interest the passions and to rouse all the acting powers of human nature.* With a view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, scripture was pressed into his service, and the powers, and even the name of a king, were rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous colonists, who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government instituted by heaven itself, and the oppression to which they were subjected in consequence of their lusting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for prepossessing the colonists in favour of republican institutions and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great Continent to a small Island, and on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language as to interest the honour and pride of the colonists, in renouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the advantages, the practicability of independence were forcibly demonstrated. *Nothing could be better timed than this performance.* It was addressed to freemen who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlimited power. It found the colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. *Many thousands were convinced and were led to approve, and long for a separation from the mother country.* Though that measure a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence; the current suddenly became so strong in its favour, that it bore down all opposition."

different—our means of information run in such dissimilar channels, that few sentiments beyond mere common-place saws, can command the general assent of a large company. And therefore if every person makes a practice of denying every thing he disbelieves—and forcing the speaker to enter into proof or defence, of what he has advanced, mixed society, the genuine source of so much rational delight will lose more than half its joys. And many men, of whom I freely confess myself one, would prefer total silence to being obliged to defend every thing they say. I am no advocate of a slavish and hypocritical assent with, or without belief—far indeed from it. And therefore if our opinion be asked on points to which we cannot assent, we ought to express a decided, but a mild dissent. But this by no means implies either a necessity or propriety of contradicting whatever does not meet our opinions or impressions at the moment.—*Philadelphia Sentinel, Oct.* 9, 1817.

Fallacy of History.—Who was he that said that history was a bundle of lies? Was he very wide of the mark? I believe not. Let me quote an instance in proof.

There is an historian of the highest possible reputation, [Hume,] whose work has been translated into almost all the languages of Europe, and been regarded as a model, not merely of style, for which it is highly and justly celebrated, but by some extolled for its fidelity—who has fallen into the grossest errors, without censure, and even almost without notice.

In giving an account of a most important and highly controverted event, [the Irish rebellion,] he has forty-five references to the authorities on which his narrative rests, and of these no less than thirty-three are to a book written by a person, who could with propriety say of such parts of his work as were correct, *quorum magna pars fui.*

This latter book, [Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion,] however, is one of the basest, most false, and most corrupt that ever was written. It is one continued tissue of falsehood, and as absurd and ridiculous as The Seven Champions of Christendom, Don Bellianis of Greece, or Parismus, Parismenos, and Parismenides. Many of the pretended facts are not merely to the last degree improbable, but absolutely *impossible*, and contrary to the most established rules of nature. The book, which

is very rare, is in the city library. *Ainsi va le monde.—Port Folio, Feb.* 1810, *p.* 121.

Richard Calef.—To every liberal mind it is highly grateful to give praise where praise is due, and to rescue a meritorious name from obscurity. I have therefore resolved to devote a few lines to the excellent man whose name is prefixed to this paragraph.

Every nation has had its paroxysms of insanity, in which the "small still voice of reason," justice, and humanity has been for a while stifled by the violence of party passions, prejudice, or bigotry. To resist the public delusion on such occasions, is attended with very considerable danger, and has not unfrequently involved in the common destruction those who have undertaken to advocate the cause of the oppressed. It therefore requires a very high degree of magnanimity and heroism to induce men to make an effort to stem the torrent. For the honour of human nature, however, on most occasions of this description, there have been found heroes who have thus signalized themselves.

In several parts of New England, more particularly Salem, in the year 1692, a most awful delusion prevailed on the subject of witchcraft, which extended its deleterious effects into the highest grades of society. The governor, the public officers generally, and many of the clergy, were numbered among the mass of those who implicitly believed in the guilt of the persons charged with this crime. About twenty were immolated (one of whom was pressed to death with weights) with all the forms, but without the least shadow of the reality, of justice. The evidence was to the last degree frivolous and absurd. Many of the accusers were constantly in a state of delirium, the result of rum drinking. At this frightful period, when the very sanctity of age exposed a superannuated creature to the most imminent hazard of destruction, Richard Calef, a merchant in Boston, signalized himself by the most decisive exertions to arrest the progress of the devouring monster, and was eminently instrumental in opening the eyes of the public, and rescuing many devoted victims from the gaping jaws of destruction. He wrote a number of valuable letters to Cotton Mather, who ranked among the steadfast believers in witchcraft. Mr. Calef had obviously the most decisive advantage over his opponent. He

afterwards collected the whole correspondence, and a portion of the trials of the unfortunate victims, into a volume, to which he gave the title of "More Wonders of the Invisible World," in reference to the title of one of Cotton Mather's books, called "Wonders of the Invisible World." Calef's book is really very well worth perusal. It throws important light upon the history of the miserable animal, "*bipes et implumis.*" The title operates very much to its disadvantage. Few, but believers in witchcraft, will be tempted to open it, and it is so little calculated to fan the flame of *their* prejudices, that a few pages will suffice them. I owned it for seven years, without having the curiosity to open it. An accidental want of another book to read, induced me lately to examine the nonsense which I supposed it contained, when I was delighted with the masculine spirit and the strong and unanswerable arguments it contained.

I was somewhat disappointed to find, in a work of considerable merit lately published in Boston, called "An American Biographical and Historical Dictionary," a very cold compliment paid to Calef. It is barely said, that he "was distinguished about the time of the witchcraft delusion, by his withstanding the credulity of the times"—and "as he censured the proceedings of the courts, respecting the witches, at a time when the people of the country in general did not see their error, he gave great offence." This is pretty nearly "damning with faint praise."—*Ibid.*

Savage Barbarity.—In Italy, so late as the beginning of the last century, according to Labat, there were numbers of brutal ruffians, who delighted in disfiguring the faces of females whom they met unprotected. They cut them sometimes with a knife, and sometimes with a thin piece of money. In the latter case, a scar was left which neither care nor time could ever efface. Other wretches carried their animosity to the sex no farther than smearing them over with filth and nastiness.—*Idem, p.* 123.

Refined Amusement.—It is stated, in the History of the Female Sex, vol. iv. p. 217, that in Lisbon, during the three last days of the carnival, the front windows of the houses are hardly ever free from "women in their best attire, who are provided with syringes and vessels of different kinds, with and

from which they sprinkle and pelt the passengers with all sorts of matters, solid and fluid, pure and impure."—*Ibid.*

FREE AND EASY.—Townsend, in his Travels through Spain, mentions that he saw a merchant smoke a cigar, and then present it to a countess. She took it with an obeisance, smoked it half out, then returned it to the owner, and after an interval of some minutes, puffed out a thick cloud of smoke, after she had suffered it to circulate completely through her lungs.—Vol. ii. page 45.—*Ibid.*

A FREE TRANSLATION.—Miners, a German writer, author of "The History of the Female Sex," states that kisses being entirely banished from the Spanish theatre, the translator of a French *operette*, entitled "*Le Tonnelier*," instead of making the hero of the piece kiss his mistress, as is done in the original, "has represented the latter picking the vermin from her gallant, because this is a service which lovers of the lower class in Spain very commonly render one another."—Vol. iv. page 227.—*Ibid.*

TOO MUCH AND TOO LITTLE READING.—It is remarkable how very frequently the old remark, that "extremes meet," is realized. It may be fairly stated that much of the ignorance of the world arises from reading too much, and reading too little. Of readers, a considerable portion read too much, and too hastily, to digest or avail themselves of what they peruse. Of course, their ignorance arises from falling into the opposite extreme to those who read little or nothing.—*Idem, p.* 124.

EPIGRAM—FROM THE FRENCH.

A swaggering braggadocio swore
He'd travelled all the world o'er,
And wheresoever he had been,
Had kings, and queens, and princes seen,
By all of whom he'd been carest,
And with their choicest favours blest.

A droll old codger sitting near,
Jocosely asked him with a sneer,
"Pray have you seen *the Dardanelles*,
Those far-famed, lovely, Turkish belles?"
"Seen them?—You surely jest—parbleu!
I've often seen and kissed them too."—*Ibid.*

EPIGRAM.

Morosus lost a pliant wife,
The joy, the comfort of his life.
He roar'd, he wept, he stamp'd, he swore:
But this could not his spouse restore:
Therefore, his woes to dissipate,
He wooed—and won—a second mate.
"Ye gods and little fish!" their joy
Could never, never, know alloy:
But wo is me, I can't disguise—
(The reader will the tale surmise)
The honey moon at length was past;
The sky with clouds was overcast;
The new wife found—alas! too late—
Her husband prone to fierce debate;
And, on each transient slight disgust,
He'd bitterly bewail the first.
This piqued the dame. She heav'd a sigh:
"You can't regret her more than I."—*Ibid.*

Mineral Waters.—I hope I do not deceive myself, when I anticipate very salutary results from the introduction of the mineral waters so generally into our cities. I indulge the pleasing hope that they will have a strong tendency to check the use of ardent spirits, which, it is lamentable to perceive, have been for years extending their baleful influence on society, and even in those ranks which a high sense of delicacy ought to have preserved from the dire contagion.

With many men, I make no doubt, here and in the West Indies, the dreadful habits of intoxication owe their origin to the intense heats of the summer weather. At that period, exercise

in any great degree, excites thirst. This at first is appeased perhaps by lemonade—then by punch—then weak grog succeeds—the strength of the grog is gradually increased, till at length the water is totally banished—and pure Holland, Cogniac, or Jamaica, closes the scene, and swallows up the ill-fated victim in the yawning gulf of perdition.

When we look round, and examine minutely, we shall see numberless evidences of this regular progression in turpitude. It is lamentable to reflect how many young men, of the most respectable talents, with every advantage of family and education, are degraded by this grovelling vice, only fit for the practice of the rudest savages.

> Ill habits gather by unseen degrees,
> As brooks make rivers—rivers swell to seas.

I have no hope that professed drunkards will afford much encouragement to the new establishments. To expect such an event were to be a dupe to one's own credulity. But I think that those whose taste is not depraved by the use of strong drinks, will, when thirsty, gladly have recourse to an elegant, safe, and wholesome beverage, and thus escape the temptation to fall into the deplorable habits to which I have referred, and whose deleterious effects are mourned by many a suffering family.—*Idem, April*, 1810, *p.* 318.

French Leave.—The advantages of persons who retire from companies, large or small, more particularly the latter, taking French leave, that is, withdrawing without the ceremony of bidding adieu, are so great, that I am astonished it does not prevail universally. The tastes, inclinations, arrangements, and views of different persons are widely different. To some it may be perfectly agreeable to remain till twelve, one, or even two o'clock in the morning. To others eleven appears late; to others even ten. As relaxation or enjoyment is the object people have in view in going into company, is there any way in which it can be better promoted, than by following one's inclination, in every case where it can be done without offering violence to the inclinations of others? If I wish to retire at ten, why should I, by very ceremoniously taking leave of every person in the company, admonish them that it is time for all to separate.—*Ibid.*

GEOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.—Mrs. Piozzi informs us that an ignorant young man having asked Dr. Johnson, "what and where Palmyra was?" as he had heard somebody the evening before talking of the ruins of Palmyra. "'Tis a hill in Ireland," says the doctor, "with *palms* growing on the top, and a *bog* at the bottom; and so they call it Palm-mira."—*Idem, p.* 319.

MEN MORE SUSCEPTIBLE OF FLATTERY THAN WOMEN.—Travelling lately with a numerous company, among whom were some elegant and intelligent ladies, flattery became the topic of conversation. One of the ladies declared that it was her opinion that men were more susceptible of, and more easily duped by, this master key to the human heart, than women. The gentlemen present were quite surprised at such an attack upon the understanding of their sex, and instantly called for proofs of this very paradoxical opinion. The lady, a Miss Lowell, of Boston, said that men were so little accustomed to flattery, that they generally devoured it with greediness, whenever it was tendered to them, however coarse or gross it might be: but that it was so very lavishly bestowed upon women, that they received it as a mere matter of course, and paid it very little attention. This argument silenced if it did not convince her male auditors.—*Ibid.*

FEMALE LABOUR.—The low rate of female labour is a grievance of the very first magnitude, and pregnant with the most mighty ills to society. It demands the most serious consideration of those whose situations in life give them influence upon manners and customs. This unjust arrangement of remuneration for services performed diminishes the importance of women in society—renders them more helpless and dependant—destroys in the lower walks of life much of the inducements to marriage—and of course in the same degree increases the temptations to licentiousness. It is difficult to conceive why, even in those branches wherein both sexes are engaged, there should be such an extreme degree of disparity in the recompense of labour, as every person acquainted with the subject knows to exist.—*Ibid.*

HOAXING.—It is not easy to imagine any act of common occurrence, of which the law takes no cognizance, that more completely characterizes a ruffian than the base unfeeling one, called *hoaxing*, which, translated into plain English, means torturing the feelings of some person, male or female, unable to resist the insult. I am not ignorant that this vulgar trick is often practised by those who suppose themselves, and are sometimes by others admitted to be gentlemen. And such they would be, were it in the power of fine clothes to fix the character of gentlemen. But it requires little knowledge of the world to be satisfied that there are occasionally to be met with, men in elegant habiliments who have not more refinement, delicacy, or humanity, than persons in the most humble grade of society.

There is something peculiar in the manners, ludicrous in the countenance, *outré* in the dress, or eccentric in the turn of mind of a man, or woman, and for this very powerful reason the individual is singled out as an object of ridicule by one of these fashionable "*hoaxers*," who is countenanced by those in company, whose duty it is to interpose a shield to protect the injured person. To such as distinguish themselves in this very reprehensible manner, it may not be amiss to mention that those who can, and do not, prevent wickedness are equally responsible for its turpitude with the perpetrators.—*Idem, p.* 320.

AMERICAN SLAVES.—In the narrative of the voyage of Americus Vespucius, written and published by himself, a copy of which is in the possession of a literary gentleman of this city, he states that he brought some hundreds of the aboriginals of this country with him to Spain, and sold them as slaves in the market place of, as far as my memory serves me, the port of Cadiz. —*Ibid.*

TWINS.—Some time since, died in London, two twin sisters, Margaret and Judith Hodges, maiden ladies, aged 53 years. They expired, as they were born, within a few minutes of each other. I have heard of several instances of the death of twins occurring in this manner; and one of them in which the parties were in different nations. To a philosophical mind a circumstance of this kind affords room for curious speculation.—*Ibid.*

Sound Arguments and Exemplary Urbanity.—Niebuhr, the Danish traveller in Egypt, had some conversation on religious topics with a Mahometan, to whom he happened to mention the truth of the Christian religion. This exasperated the Musulman so completely, that he rose in a fury, exclaiming, "they who believe in any other divinity but God only, are oxen and asses." After he had thus so ably refuted all the arguments of his opponent, he walked off with a becoming dignity, without deigning to wait for a reply.—*Idem, p.* 321.

Egyptian Toleration and Kindness towards Christians and Jews.—In Cairo, no Christian or Jew dares to ride on horseback. They ride only on asses; and are obliged to alight on meeting even the most inconsiderable Egyptian lord. These lords rarely, if ever, go abroad but on horseback, and always have a servant before them, who, with a staff in his hand, warns the riders on asses to show due respect to his master, crying aloud, "Get down." If the mandate be not instantly obeyed, the staff is nimbly plied about the shoulders of the refractory master of the long-eared animal.

The Christians and Jews are also obliged to alight from their asses, when they pass the house of the chief cadi, also at about twenty other houses, where justice is distributed, before the gate of the janissaries, and before several mosques.—*Ibid.*

Elegant Fashions.—The Arabian women in Egypt, according to Niebuhr, wear large metal rings in their ears and noses. They sometimes hang small bells to the tresses of their hair, and the young girls fix them to their feet. Some paint their hands yellow, and their nails red, and imagine that these disfigurations of nature give them irresistible charms!—*Ibid.*

Let both speak at once.—Dr. Johnson highly disapproved of a ridiculous practice that prevails with many parents, who exhibit the talents of their children to every visiter, often in the most disgusting manner. He was once with a friend who proposed that his two children should repeat Gray's elegy alternately, that he might judge which had the best cadence. "No

pray, sir," says the doctor to the astounded father, "let the dears both speak at once—more noise will by that means be made—and the noise will be the sooner over."—*Ibid.*

SOUND ADVICE, WORTHY OF THE MOST SERIOUS ATTENTION.—When Dr. Johnson was about commencing his career in the world, one Ford gave him the following excellent admonition: "Obtain some general principles of every science; he who can talk only on one subject, or act only in one department, is seldom wanted, and perhaps never wished for; while the man of general knowledge can often benefit, and always please."—*Idem, p.* 322.

VERTU.—Dr. Johnson, according to Mrs. Thrale, had so little taste for paintings, that she heard him say he could sit very quietly in a room hung round with the works of the greatest masters, and never feel the slightest disposition to turn them, if their back were outermost, unless it were to inform the owner that he had seen them.—*Ibid.*

TRIPOLITAN FASHION.—When the ladies of Tripoli go to assemblies, or the splendid entertainments which are given them by fashionable people, their slaves accompany them with coffers, containing the chief part of their wardrobes. After a lady has danced for a few minutes, she passes into the next apartment, where she changes the whole of her dress, not retaining even her slippers. She then returns in new habiliments, and dances again; and afterwards changes in like manner, which process is sometimes repeated ten times in one night. Niebuhr relates these circumstances on the authority of a friend settled at Tripoli.—*Ibid.*

A MAN OF TASTE.—Boyce, the writer of the Pantheon, was a most thoughtless, extravagant, and miserable creature. At one period of his life, when he was almost perishing with hunger, a friend gave him some money to rescue him. He purchased a piece of beef, but was so great an epicure that he could not eat

it without pickles, and laid out the last half guinea he had for truffles and mushrooms, which he ate in bed, for want of clothes, or even a shirt wherewith to cover his wretched carcase.—*Ibid.*

THE MOUNTAIN IN LABOUR.—A person in Dr. Johnson's company, entered very largely into the natural history of the mouse, on which he expatiated so long that he quite disgusted the doctor. "I wonder," says he drily to a person who sat near him, "what such a man would have said, if he had ever had the luck to see a lion."—*Ibid.*

A NEAT BULL FOR A LEARNED FEMALE.—Mrs. Piozzi, in giving an account of the paralytic stroke with which Dr. Johnson was struck, states, that finding his speech gone, he directly, in order to ascertain whether his mental powers remained unimpaired, composed a prayer in Latin, *to deprecate God's mercy.*—*Idem, p.* 323.

A WONDERFUL TREE.—Dr. Platt, who has published a history of Staffordshire, states, that in the year 1680, there was an apple tree within the moat at the parsonage house in that county, which spread about fifty-four yards in circumference; which, allowing four square feet for a man, would shelter five hundred men under its branches.—*Ibid.*

DEXTERITY.—The peasants in Catalonia drink without touching the mouth of the bottle with their lips. "And the height, says Townsend, "from which they let the liquor fall in one continued stream, without either missing their aim, or spilling a single drop, is surprising. For this purpose, the orifice of the bottle is small, and from their infancy they learn to swallow, like the Thracians, with their mouths wide open.—*Ibid.*

A NAUTICAL SCHOOL.—It is a subject of sincere regret that so many useful institutions, calculated to promote human com-

fort, happiness, and safety, are confined to a few countries, and the rest of mankind as completely debarred of their advantages, as they are of the fanciful art of the alchymists. Sir John Sinclair, shortly after the termination of the American revolution, proposed a grand plan for the formation of societies in different nations, who should correspond with each other, and communicate respectively their useful inventions. It is to be lamented that so benevolent a project totally failed.

In Barcelona, there was in 1785, an academy for "the noble arts," open to every person, and in which all who attended were taught gratis, drawing, architecture, and sculpture. For this purpose they had seven spacious halls, furnished at the king's expense, with tables, benches, lights, paper, pencils, drawings, models, clay, and living subjects. Townsend counted one night "upwards of five hundred boys, many of whom were finishing designs, which showed either superior genius, or more than common application."

But the part of this institution most deserving of imitation in a country so devotedly attached to commerce as America, remains to be stated. One of the halls was fitted up as a nautical school, and was provided with every thing needful to teach the art of navigation. Since the first establishment of this useful seminary, more than five hundred pilots were educated in it, qualified to navigate a vessel to any quarter of the globe.—*Idem, p.* 324.

A Correct Style—and a Judicious Criticism.—In the dedication to Harris's Hermes, which is but fourteen lines long, Dr. Johnson said there were six grammatical errors.—*Ibid.*

Newspaper Sourrility.—Cummyns, a most respectable quaker, in London, declared to Dr. Johnson, on his death-bed, that the pain he felt from an anonymous letter, in one of the common newspapers, fastened on his heart, and threw him into a slow fever, of which he was dying. Mrs. Piozzi, who relates this interesting anecdote, adds that "Hawkesworth, the pious, the virtuous, and the wise, fell, for want of fortitude, a lamented sacrifice to wanton malice and cruelty" of the same kind.—*Ibid.*

A Curious Question.—Doctor Johnson, after having declared how few books there were of which a person could possibly arrive at the last page, asks, "was there ever yet any thing written by mortal man, which was wished longer by its readers, excepting Don Quixote, Robinson Crusoe, and the Pilgrim's Progress?" To this question, to which the doctor undoubtedly expected an answer in the negative, we may confidently say "Yes—there have been hundreds." Without going into minute detail, I think it is safe to assert that few readers of taste have ever read the Iliad, Horace's writings, the Sentimental Journey, Vicar of Wakefield, Thomson's Seasons, the Economy of Human Life, &c. &c., without a sincere regret that they were so soon finished.—*Idem, p.* 325.

Idiocy.—In the year 1785, in an hospital in Barcelona, containing 1460 paupers, there were no less than the astonishing number of three hundred idiots!—*Ibid.*

A Mountain of Salt.—Townsend, whom I have freely quoted already, gives an account of a most remarkable and interesting phenomenon. It is "a stupendous mountain in the vicinity of Montserrat, of three miles in circumference, near the village of Cardana, which is one mass of salt, and equal in height to those of the Pyrenees, on which it borders. In a climate like England," he adds, "such a mass had long since been dissolved: but in Spain they employ this rock salt, as in Derbyshire they do the fluor spar, to make snuff boxes and vases, with other ornaments and trinkets." He carried a little fragment with him all through Spain without the least sign of deliquescence—but when he arrived in England, he soon found it surrounded with a pool of water.—*Ibid.*

Leprosy.—It has been believed that the leprosy was totally extirpated out of Europe, and that there were no traces of it remaining but in the records to be found of its horrible ravages. Unfortunately this is far from true. In one province of Spain, the Asturias, there are no less than twenty hospitals for this frightful disorder. Some patients are covered over with a

white dry scurf, and look like millers. In others the skin is almost black, very thick, full of wrinkles, unctuous, and covered with a loathsome crust. Others have one leg and thigh enormously swelled, and full of varices, pustules, and ulcers, sending forth a most abominable smell.—*Ibid.*

UNPARALLELED MODESTY.—Paracelsus, the prince of quacks and impostors, carried the art of arrogant puffing to its *ne plus ultra.* It is hardly credible, but is nevertheless indubitably true, that he prefaced one of his principal works with the following pompous encomium on his own talents and skill: "Ye must give way to me, and not I to you. Ye must give way to me, Avicenna, Rhases, Galen, Maseu. Ye must give way to me, ye of Paris, of Montpelier, ye of Swabia, ye of Misnia, ye of Cologne, ye of Vienna, and whatever places lie on the Danube and the Rhine. Ye islands in the sea; thou Italian, thou Dalmatian, thou Athenian, thou Greek, thou Arabian, thou Israelite; ye must give way to me, and not I to you. The monarchy is mine." This barefaced puff direct exceeds even the utmost impudence of the most brazen-fronted puffer of modern times. *Idem, p.* 326.

RENOVATION OF THE HUMAN SYSTEM.—The great Bacon advises, as the best method of renovating the exhausted powers of nature, to free the body every two or three years from all the old and corrupted juices, by spare diet and cathartics—and afterwards to replenish the vessels with new juices, by means of refreshing and nourishing food—thus renewing and invigorating the system periodically.—*Ibid.*

EXTRAORDINARY PHENOMENON.—Fontana made a number of most curious and extraordinary experiments on animal life, which excite the astonishment of every person who reads his accounts of them. He dried wheel insects and hair worms in the scorching sun—and then parched them in an oven. Yet after six months he restored these dried animals to life by pouring over them lukewarm water.—*Ibid.*

Longevity.—Helen Gray, a woman who died a few years ago, in England, in the 105th year of her age, had new teeth a few years before her death.—*Ibid.*

Bachelors, beware.—Hufeland, from whom I have extracted the foregoing fact, states that there is not one instance on record of a bachelor having attained to a great age. This observation, he says, applies with as much force to unmarried females as to males in that insulated state.—*Idem, p.* 327.

Wonderful Memory.—In the Gentleman's Magazine for September, 1752, there is a story published, of a most extraordinary memory, which almost sets credulity at defiance. The incident is likewise to be found in Baker's Playhouse Companion, and other works of respectability.

William Lyon, a strolling player, it is there stated, laid a wager one evening when with some of his companions at a tavern, that he would next day at rehearsal, repeat a Daily Advertiser, from beginning to end. Next day his companion reminded him of his wager; on which, Lyon, pulling out the paper, desired him to look at it, and decide himself whether or not he won the wager. "Notwithstanding," says the writer, "the want of connexion between the paragraphs, the variety of advertisements, and the general chaos which enters into the composition of a newspaper, he repeated it from beginning to end, without hesitation or mistake. I know this," adds he, "to be true, and believe its parallel cannot be found in any age or nation."—*Ibid.*

A New Coat of Mail and Elegant Decorations.—Symes, in his Embassy to Ava, states that the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, being much incommoded by insects, their first occupation in the morning, is to plaster their bodies all over with mud, which, hardening in the sun, forms an impenetrable armour. They then, by way of embellishment, paint their woolly heads with red ochre. When thus completely equipped, there is not, he says, a more hideous appearance to be found in human form.—*Idem, p.* 328.

MISNOMER.—Philadelphia exhibits a wonderful instance of a *drawbridge* of mason's work, which of course, nothing short of supernatural power could *draw up*. A quizzical lexicographer, in compiling a dictionary for our meridian, might define the word *drawbridge*, a bridge that is absolutely immoveable.

The pompous title of those Italian assemblies which are called *conversationes*, is, according to Dr. Moore, as *happily* applied as our term, *drawbridge*. They are, he states, remarkably dull and insipid. "A *conversatione*," he adds, "is a place where there is no conversation."—*Port Folio, August*, 1810, *p.* 148.

ROYAL CLEMENCY.—A conquered nation having rebelled against the Peruvian prince, Tupa Inca Yupanqui, he decimated the people at large, and *humanely* ordered that the higher orders should have two of their upper and two of their lower teeth drawn; and that the same punishment should be extended to their posterity.—*Idem, p.* 149.

AN ELEGANT TRANSLATION.—In a small universal history, written in French, there is the following sentence:

"Au commencement, toute la terre etoit inhabitée. Apres quoi, le pays d'Eden sur l'Euphrate fut peuplé le premier. C'etoit la qu' habitoit le premier couple d'hommes. De ce couple descendirent successivement plusieurs couples; et de ceux-ci des milliers d'autres."

This sentence has been rendered into English, by an accomplished translator thus:

"In the beginning all the earth was inhabited; after which the country of Eden, on the Euphrates, was peopled the first. It was there that the first couple of men lived. From this only couple successively descended many couples, and of these millions of others."—*Ibid.*

"God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb."

FEMALE ENERGY.—Every reader of the Sentimental Journey recollects with pleasure the beautiful comment which Sterne wrote upon this text. Poor Maria occupies a conspicuous place in that elegant work, and to her interesting case was this

consoling maxim applied. Those who take any interest in the welfare of their fellow mortals, must have frequent opportunities of observing how apposite it is to the situation and circumstances of a considerable portion of the unfortunate part of mankind.

This proverb, and another of similar import, "God fits the back to the burden," are deduced from a consideration of that almost universal quality inherent in human nature, of assimilating our conduct, and moulding our characters to those emergencies which arise in the fluctuations of human affairs.

Under the influence of this property of our nature, Philadelphia has witnessed the remarkable case of a French nobleman, whom the revolution in his country had hurled from the pinnacle of wealth and dignity, and who occupied himself here in the profession of a tinman. In this occupation he conducted himself with the most perfect propriety, and his "back" was as completely "fitted to the burden" as if he had borne it from his infancy. There are at present cases to be met with here, and in other parts of the United States, not dissimilar to this of the noble tinman. Hamburg, Altona, Amsterdam, London, and various other cities in Europe have all beheld numberless instances of persons who had moved in the same high sphere, and who on being detruded from thence, have employed their talents of music, dancing, drawing, fencing, mathematics, &c. to earn a support. Many of them have acknowledged, that in these reduced situations, they have enjoyed more real happiness than formerly, when surrounded with all the profusion of Asiatic luxury.

But however remarkable and commendable these cases are, they do not excite the same emotions in my mind, nor are they so honourable to human nature, as those of many respectable females, who, when bereft of parents and husbands, have nobly met and defied "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," and supported themselves and families in the most exemplary manner. On these occasions they have, all at once, assumed the energy and fortitude which many of our sex absurdly believe belong exclusively to us. They appear on a sudden wholly transformed into new creatures, and to have entirely devested themselves of that helplessness which is partly the result of the natural delicacy of the female sex, but is in a much greater degree the fostered offspring of erroneous systems of

Russians. After peace was restored, it was actually debated in the Turkish divan, whether or not the whole Greek nation should be exterminated as a punishment for their rebellion. This barbarous measure was on the point of being carried into execution. The celebrated capudan Pacha prevented it from being adopted—but not by any arguments drawn from the criminality or inhumanity of the measure—but from a motive of more potent influence with the divan. "If," says he, "we massacre all the Greeks, *we shall lose the capitation they pay us.*" This argument was irresistible, and rescued the miserable descendants of Solon, Lycurgus, Plato, Themistocles, and Miltiades from impending destruction. *Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.*—Ibid.

Blasphemous Adulation.—A thesis was dedicated to Louis XIV., in which that proud and arrogant monarch was absolutely compared with the divinity. The bishop of Meaux was consulted on the propriety of its publication. He disapproved of it, and was of opinion it ought to be suppressed. With this opinion the king was not quite satisfied, and sent it to the college of Sorbonne for the decision of the faculty there. They pronounced the same sentence upon the sycophantic and blasphemous performance as the bishop had done. It was accordingly suppressed.—*Idem*, *p.* 253.

"For every fool finds reason to be proud,
Though hiss'd and hooted by the pointing crowd."

Vanity and Folly.—In regarding human nature attentively, and examining its follies and weaknesses, I know of none more general, more absurd, or more inconvenient in its consequences, than that morbid sensibility, which makes us resent as an affront or insult the slightest hint at any of our defects or imperfections, even when made with the most friendly view. It would appear as if we supposed that those who take the pains to admonish us of any of our follies or vices, actually created them. We every day meet with men highly respectable, who have defects in their manners, in their address, or their conduct, which they have borne with them probably from their early days, and which have grown with their growth, and have con-

stantly subjected them to ridicule even among their friends, and worse than ridicule among others. Yet from the morbid sensibility I have stated, on the one hand, or a very erroneous idea of politeness on the other, no person dares to draw their attention to the defect, or to point out a remedy.

Let me, reader, draw you a portrait. It is, if I err not, a likeness of a large portion of mankind—probably of you, and full as probably of myself who undertake to write a lecture on the subject. Behold that person, sumptuously attired, proceeding to a ball-room, to display himself to the best advantage. Unfortunately there is upon his arm a piece of ordure, equally offensive to the eye and to the olfactory nerves of those whom he encounters. It is so conspicuously placed, that it cannot escape the attention of the most cursory examiner. A friend perhaps advances, takes off his hat, bows, and is about to advise him to remove the filth. Instead of returning him thanks for his kindness, he flies into a passion—repels his friend—and perhaps repays him with as much undeserved insult, as if, instead of wishing the removal of the offensive matter, he had actually thrown it upon his arm.

This is, you will doubtless say, ridiculous—truly ridiculous. Yet it is man's every day habit. Few of us can boast an exemption. The blemishes which we are all afflicted with, are the ordure—and not on our clothes, but on our characters and conduct, of infinitely more importance. Yet we frighten away every person who would kindly help us to remove the odious incumbrance. What folly! what madness!

Some of the most envenomed animosities that I have ever known, have arisen from friendly advices, obtruded on persons whose follies were a town talk, and known to all the world but themselves.—*Idem*, *p.* 256.

A Dreary Wilderness.—Hearne, who was employed nearly forty years ago to travel in search of a water communication between the English settlements at Baffin's Bay, and the Pacific Ocean, travelled from the sixth of November, 1770, till the twenty-second of January, 1771, seventy-seven days, and several hundred miles, without meeting a human being! During his journey, he was several times obliged to fast two days and two nights—twice upwards of three days—and once nearly seven days, during which he and his companions tasted nothing but a

few cranberries, scraps of old leather, burned bones, and water. When the Indians, he says, are in this extremity, they sacrifice such parts of their leather dress as they can best spare.—*Ibid.*

"A Sailor's Life's a Life of Wo."—In a parish in Norway, on the sea coast, for forty years there did not die above ten grown men. The rest, mostly fishermen and pilots, were drowned.—*Ibid.*

Cogent and Benevolent Reasons of State.—The civilized parts of the world sometimes believe that in the crooked paths of state policy they have no rivals among the savages. This is a most egregious error. I offer a case in full proof. Captain Vancouver, in his voyage round the world, states that the king of Otaheite, meditating the conquest of the neighbouring islands, informed him, that it was highly necessary for the comfort and happiness of the people at large, that over the whole group of islands there should be but one sovereign. How humane, how benevolent! Could Louis XIV., before he ravaged the Palatinate, Catharine II., before the capture of Ismail, or Frederick, previous to the seizure of Silesia, have devised a more unanswerable justification of their conduct!—*Idem, p. 257.*

Cumberland's Memoirs.—Few biographical works possess so much attraction, and afford so great a degree of entertainment, as the Memoirs of Cumberland, lately published by himself, at the advanced age of seventy-two. These Memoirs furnish an extensive range of the history of literature and literary men, during the very long period they embrace. The anecdotes of the author's ancestors are not among the least valuable parts of the work. The writer exhibits himself without disguise. There is hardly a page that does not bear strong testimony of his benevolence and goodness, as well as of his talents. His laudable design of making the drama subservient to the noble purpose of banishing gross national prejudices, which it had formerly to successfully fostered, would alone have entitled him to a monument of national gratitude. The Irish, the Scotch, the Welch, and the Jews, are all under high obligations

to him, for placing them, in his dramatic works, in a respectable point of light. His Major O'Flaherty, his Colin M'Leod, his Dr. Druid, and his Sheva, while they bear strong characteristic marks of nationality, are endued with those excellent qualities of the heart, and that purity of intention, which command for man the plaudit of his fellow mortals "from pole to pole." By other writers, individuals of those nations are rarely introduced among the *dramatis personæ*, but to excite or extend prejudice, and to tickle the exuberant vanity of a proud and arrogant audience, by the very flattering comparison. From this folly, to call it by no harsher name, Shakspeare himself could not claim an exemption. In his Merchant of Venice, he absolutely falsified history, to pander to the miserable prejudices which existed against the ill-fated Jews, so often, for centuries before his time, the victims of the most abominable persecution. Need I, after adducing Shylock, waste words upon the Archy Mac Sarcasms, the Brulgrudderies, the Teague O'Regans, the Darbies, the Shenkins, and all those caricatures of human nature, which so many scribblers have exhibited for the purpose of rendering the imaginary defects of one nation food for the vanity of another?

I have heard Cumberland charged with egotism. Those who prefer this charge against him say, that "I, the hero of each little tale," applies to his memoirs with great propriety. This is too fastidious. They attempt to decry an individual work for what forms the very essence of this species of composition. Can a man write his own life, without being, to a certain degree, an egotist? Surely not. And whatever egotism Cumberland displays, in his memoirs, is absolutely inseparable from every similar production.

In this interesting work there are some curious political arcana completely developed, which throw considerable light on the honour and honesty of the cabinets of the rulers of the globe.—*Idem*, *Dec.* 1809, *p.* 528.

Duncan M'Intosh.—There is no subject that yields to a benevolent mind a more sublime gratification than the contemplation of a man employed in the divine act of rescuing his fellow mortals from impending destruction, without the smallest shadow of suspicion of his being actuated by any sinister or selfish motives. This is unquestionably the highest grade of human

perfection. Alas, that it so rarely occurs! History is little more than one continued detail of the atrocities of ferocious monsters, who have deluged the earth with human blood, with as little concern as the tiger displays in the destruction of the unoffending lamb. Those of an opposite description

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

The greater the rarity of this goodness, the more highly estimable it is when it appears. With what admiration and applause, then, must we not regard the noble minded Duncan M'Intosh, who has excited these remarks, and who has had the enviable lot of effecting the salvation from impending butchery, in St. Domingo, of above fifteen hundred men, women and children, a number probably greater than were ever rescued from destruction by any private individual before.

This illustrious exploit is attended with a circumstance, which enhances the gratification it affords. The hero is of a nation whose character is not duly appreciated in general, and who are too frequently made the subject of unjust and disgraceful sarcasm by the ignorant and illiberal of other nations. Of all the national prejudices I am acquainted with, I know none more completely unfounded. I am convinced, from long observation, that the *tout ensemble* of the character of the Scotch will bear an advantageous comparison with that of any other nation in Christendon.—*Ibid.*

The Mohocks.—Ye gods and goddesses! what a precipitous fall from feasting upon the godlike acts of M'Intosh, to write about the miscreants with whose designation I have headed this paragraph! It is like sinking from

"The heights of th' empyreal heaven,"

at one single plunge, into the darkest abysses of

"Pluto's dire abodes."

Some readers may not know who or what these Mohocks were. To them it may be proper to state, that, about the beginning of the last century, a host of ruffians in London, some of them of the most respectable families, associated under this title, and used to sally out into the streets after dark, cutting, maiming, and disfiguring every man they met with, and exposing the women in the most scandalous and indecent manner.

And all this barbarity was perpetrated, good heavens! for mere amusement! What! cut a man's nose or ears off for amusement! Can it be possible? exclaims the reader. It is unfortunately not only possible, but absolutely and awfully certain. They were, at length, but with considerable difficulty, extirpated by the police.

How infinite the diversity of man! On one side you see a M'Intosh, approaching to the nature of the Divinity; while on the other you discover a Mohock, bearing the unerring stamp of all the horrible features of the infernal fiends.—*Idem, p.* 529.

Jugglers.—Some of the tricks performed by jugglers are so very extraordinary as to baffle every attempt to solve the arcana of the performers. Tennent, in his Indian Recreations, informs us, that he saw a small child with its limbs doubled up, which was suspended in the air in a tent. He and other persons, with drawn swords, cut the air above, below, and on every side, suspecting it might be suspended in that position by twine or cords rendered invisible by art. Their attempts to cut the child down were in vain. It remained suspended in the air.

He likewise recounts another feat. A juggler, amidst a very large concourse of people, assembled to behold his performances, brought a child into an open field. He had two large baskets, under one of which he placed the child, and the other he laid down empty at a considerable distance. After pronouncing various incantations, and making many strange gestures, he raised the baskets, and it appeared that the child had changed his position, and was under the basket which had been empty. Tennent and others made a strict examination, and ascertained that there was no subterraneous communication by which the child might have been conveyed from one basket to the other.

How shall we account for these and many similar things? Shall we ascribe them to the skill or address of the performers? They utterly transcend the ordinary physical powers of man. Shall we, then, admit necromancy? If we do in one case, where shall we fix its limits? I cannot reply.—*Ibid.*

Synonymous Words.—I have been very much diverted lately with a recent work, published, and for sale in London, by

Verner and Hood. It is styled "A Dictionary of Synonymous Words and Technical Terms, in the English Language, by James Leslie." Some of the explanations are of the most extravagant and pedantic kind, and exceed all the ravings of any former lexicographer. I subjoin a few.

Affectedness, cacozelia.
Ageduess, anosity.
Agitate, to bandy, to betoss, to conquassate.
Admit, to adhibit, to coincide, to homologate.
Aiming, act of collimation, or collineation.
Analysis, principiation, anastoichiasis.
Appendix, parergy.
Argument, elinch.
Astronomer, uranoscopist.
Baldness of the head, madarosis, alopecy, glabrity.
Bang, to lamm, to pommel, to sugillate, to thwack.
Bitch, a dogess.
Bustle, utis, accoil, clutter, coil, fuss, hurly burly, pudder, romage.
Clamour, to brabble, to clapperclaw.
Corpulency, polysarchy.

These are wonderfully lucid explanations, and must greatly accelerate the progress of science. A student who uses Mr. Leslie's dictionary, must make large hourly additions to his stock of knowledge. If he do not perfectly understand what "an appendix" is, on consulting this invaluable work, he finds it is "*a parergy;*" and with equal advantage and satisfaction, he discovers that "an argument" is "*an elinch,*" and "an astronomer" "*a uranoscopist.*" This is *luce clarius*, and must encourage the inquirer after useful knowledge to dig this valuable mine with increasing assiduity.

I shall add one more example, to prove the fertility of the English language, and the very profound researches of this learned philologist, whose fame must throw that of Bailey, Barclay, Sheridan, and Walker into utter obscurity.

Beat, to pommel, to bang, to sugillate, to thwack, to trounce, to vanquish, to vapulate, to repercuss, to buffet, to curry, to firk, to fease or feaze, to lamm, to bray, to drub, to baste, to batter, to maul, to nubble, to belabour, to bump, to cane.—*Idem, p.* 530.

Premature Judgments.—It is painful to reflect upon the almost universal propensity of mankind, to pass sentence upon their fellow mortals, on the most imperfect foundation. We spend five minutes in a man's company, and, from his countenance, or the few words he utters, we form an opinion of him with as much confidence as if we had been acquainted with him for years. Nature may have given him a countenance unpromising and perhaps forbidding. He may perhaps be timid; perhaps he has met with a heavy loss; is low spirited or dejected; is out of temper in consequence of gross ill treatment. Perhaps his wife or his child is sick. Perhaps his friend is in distress or danger. Any of these circumstances must exhibit a man to a very great disadvantage. We know them not. We never suppose any thing of the extenuating kind; but pronounce the object of our consideration to be distant and unsociable; perhaps proud and arrogant, when his heart may be writhing with torture.

I know no more frequent mistake than charging a person with distance and reserve, who is merely a martyr to the *mauvaise honte*.

A man has the misfortune to be purblind. He stalks through the streets, passing by his intimate friends and acquaintance unheeded; and as often, through mistake, saluting persons he has never seen before. By the one class he is probably set down as an impertinent upstart coxcomb, and by the other as a forward, presuming, obtrusive puppy. Thus a physical defect gives a totally false character of a man's moral qualities. So sagacious and correct, so benevolent and kind, are human judgments! and such is the miserable animal that pretends to infallibility in his decisions!—*Ibid.*

Stage and Steam-boat Travelling.—As travelling is carried in this country to a very great extent, and is daily increasing, every idea that has a tendency to add to its comforts or enjoyments, or diminish its irksomeness, is deserving of consideration.

Travellers are too frequently distant, reserved, and unsociable. It often happens that, for miles together, there is as little use made of the tongue, as if the faculty of speech were denied, or were subject to a heavy tax. When one passenger, more disposed to sociability than his companions, makes an

effort to force conversation, he is sometimes repelled, and driven for enjoyment to his own cogitations, by a cold freezing no, or yes, to his inquiries, or overtures towards an interchange of sentiment. Some travellers wrap themselves up in a cloak of dignity and importance, and appear to regard it as derogatory to their grandeur to sink down to a level with those whom accident has led to use the same vehicle with themselves. This is egregiously wrong. When decent people meet together in travelling, they ought, by common consent, to banish reserve; and not only encourage, but make every effort to maintain, a rational and interesting conversation.

In a case somewhat analogous, Sterne, in his Sentimental Journey, has given a most elegant and instructive lesson, which is worth universal attention. It is a whole volume of the essence of politeness in a single page. And although the Journey is in almost every body's hands, I cannot avoid doing myself the pleasure of laying the case before the reader.

Sterne went to the theatre. There was no person in the box but an old French officer, who had his spectacles on, and was employed reading. As soon as our traveller sat beside him, he pulled off his spectacles, and put them and the book into his pocket. Sterne makes him soliloquise thus:

"Here's a poor stranger come into the box. He seems as if he knew nobody; and is never likely, were he to be seven years in Paris, if every man he comes near keeps his spectacles upon his nose. It is shutting the door of conversation absolutely in his face, and using him worse than a German."

The officer then made advances, which were thankfully met by the author. To our cold, distant, repulsive travellers, let me address myself with a "Go, do ye likewise."

There is another error, full as frequent as that I have stated. Many passengers are very prone to fastidiousness in taverns, and are disposed to find fault with every thing they have to eat, or to drink, as well as with the beds they lie on, and the whole of the treatment they receive. I have known some persons who imagined that this conduct enhanced their consequence. This is folly in the extreme. It may be almost universally observed, that those who live the most comfortably at home, are most inclined to pass over any small defects at table or elsewhere in travelling. On the contrary, those who are roughly handled by Fortune in their domestic establishments, generally take their revenge when they go abroad.

About twenty or twenty-five years since there was a book published in London, called Francis the Philanthropist. There was one admirable chapter in it, that applies to the case before us. All the rest of the book was mere trash.

Two travellers, Grumpall and Belcour, set out from London on a tour to the continent. They meet the same people; travel in the same stages; put up at the same houses; pay the same charges; and experience the same adventures precisely; as they never separated from each other. Yet Grumpall has not one moment of enjoyment, nor Belcour one moment of unhappiness in the whole tour. There is no mystery in this. It is all perfectly natural. Grumpall was disposed to render himself miserable by his querulousness; and Belcour was resolved to enjoy as much happiness as Fortune put in his power.

Those who travel much, must meet with many Grumpalls.

It is not, however, my intention to insinuate that all the complaints of travellers partake of the *Grumpallian* character. By no means. There is vast room for improvement in the management of stages and of taverns. But I believe that more than one half the murmurs are without sufficient foundation.—*Idem, p.* 531.

A MISERABLE PREJUDICE.—YANKEE TRICKS.—This is a very significant phrase, and one in very general use. It conveys to the mind of the hearer an idea of a degree of depravity peculiar to the people of New England, from which their more upright brethren in the middle and southern states claim a total exemption. The latter are pure and immaculate, unstained with any thing in the slightest degree approaching to yankeeism.

Let us examine this point fearlessly. Let us ascertain, as far as we can, on what foundation the charge rests. If that be solid, let it remain unassailed, and be received without controversy. But if it rest upon a sandy and delusive basis, let it be consigned to oblivion, with other prejudices equally untenable.

National prejudices are very easily formed, and nicknames as easily applied. They are, however, eradicated with great difficulty. When once adopted, every day serves to corroborate them; because every little incident that occurs, and affords the smallest countenance to them, or will at all admit of being

strained to that effect, is tortured to prop and buttress them up, right or wrong.

It is not difficult to perceive how this prejudice arose. The tide of migration has generally directed its course from New England to the middle and western states, and very little from the latter to the former. The reason of this is obvious. The soil of New England is not so luxuriant as that of some of the other states. The population is much crowded. This state of things naturally produces the effect above stated. As mankind is now, and has always been, made up of good and bad, and a pretty reasonable proportion of the latter every where, it would be wonderful if, among the hosts that swarm out of New England, there should not be some depraved and worthless characters. Wherever these appear, they are cited as corroborations "strong as proofs from holy writ," to confirm the general character of the whole nation; and thus one or two millions of people bear an opprobrious stigma from the turpitude of a few.

The middle and southern states have never disgorged upon New England the off-scourings of their cities, nor their fugitives from justice, in any very considerable degree. If they had, *buckskin tricks* might in Boston, or Portsmouth, or Portland, be as proverbial, as *Yankee* tricks in New York or Philadelphia. But let a philosopher, or a citizen of the world, examine the records of our criminal courts, and he will find, that the triumph we pretend to, over our New England brethren, is not as indisputably just and correct, as some of us may have supposed. Let us bear in mind the elegant, the instructive, and the universally applicable lesson held out by the parable of the pharisee and the publican.

I have travelled very often through New England. And when I first visited the country, I was a slave to the miserable prejudices that so generally prevail respecting its inhabitants. I imagined that a large proportion of them were sharpers, solely intent upon deception and fraud. I have lived to see the extent of my error. I am proud to acknowledge it, and to do justice, as far as these feeble effusions can do justice, to the much injured character of a most respectable nation. I have beheld with delight the decency, the neatness, the elegance of their dwellings—the order, the decorum, the propriety, the urbanity, and the hospitality of their manners—the intelligence and good information even of the lowest orders of their

peasantry,—the early urbanity of their smallest children, in whom the rudiments of politeness are so far instilled, that they uniformly stop and respectfully salute the passing stranger—the republican simplicity and the good sense of their municipal regulations generally—the very successful struggle they have maintained against the sterility of an unkind soil—the ardour of their spirit of enterprise—their unceasing and unwearied industry. Having repeatedly seen—and having as repeatedly admired all these things—is it very extraordinary that I assert, without disparagement to the merits and claims of the citizens of the other States, that the yeomanry of New England are the pride and the glory of the United States, and are not perhaps excelled for the long train of social virtues, by any equal number of people under the canopy of heaven?—*Idem, p.* 533.

Irish Impudence—a Vile Libel.—This phrase is equally proverbial, and equally well founded with the former. It arose nearly in the same manner—from judging of the character of an entire nation by the misconduct of a few of its most worthless people. To question, however, the correctness of the imputation it conveys, would by many *liberal* persons be ascribed to the *ne plus ultra* of folly and effrontery. Of such *enlightened* judges the censure is not very formidable. Let me, maugre their fulminations, offer a few reflections upon this topic. It is to be hoped they will be read with candour and liberality. They are, the reader may rest assured, the result of long reflection upon the point in question—and, even if they should be totally erroneous, as they are really not intended to offend, the writer presumes upon the indulgence and the lenity of his fellow citizens.

An Irish boor, it is admitted, is as rude, and as saucy, and as ignorant, and as impudent, as an English boor—or as a German boor. He cannot easily be more so. And this is surely enough of all conscience. But is the Irishman of any rank or standing in society, more impertinent, more obtrusive, or more impudent, than the man of any other nation, of the same standing? Let the reader look round among his Hibernian acquaintance—and, laying aside his ancient prejudices, answer this question fairly and candidly. I hesitate not to assert, his reply will be in the negative.

I go farther. I know I tread on delicate ground—and that I shall raise a hornet's nest about my ears. I care not. Armed with truth, I shall meet their stings unappalled. I venture, then, to assert, that I know very few instances among other nations, of young men of decent parentage, liberal education, and handsome natural endowments, in whose cheeks you can so readily excite the crimson blush of modesty, as in those of an Irishman. Start not, reader. I do but state a fact, however it may offer violence to your opinion. If there be any exception, it is among the Scotch. The high opinion an Englishman entertains of the consequence and dignity of his nation, inspires him with a boldness and confidence that forbid him to blush. A similar cause produces a similar effect upon a Frenchman. And nature by a certain dinginess of complexion has debarred whole nations, not necessary to be named, from the faculty of blushing.—*Idem*, *p.* 534.

Curious Forms of Expression.—Throughout the British dominions, and in most parts of the United States, the epithet, *likely*, conveys an idea of mere personal beauty, unconnected with any moral or intellectual quality. And the notorious Chartres, or the traitor Arnold, might be *likely*, or even very *likely*. But "they order these matters" very differently in New England. There a man or woman as deformed as a Hottentot or an ourang outang, may be *likely*, or *very likely*. The epithet there refers to moral character. And a stranger is sometimes struck with hearing a person with one eye, a Bardolphian nose, which courts a close acquaintance with its neighbouring promontory, the chin, a hollow cheek, a cadaverous countenance, and other emblems of ugliness, equally delectable, styled a *likely man*.

In most parts of the world, people *expect* things that are *to come*. But in Pennsylvania, more particularly in the metropolis, we *expect* things that are *past*. One man tells another, he *expects* he has had a very pleasant ride, or that his vessel has made a good voyage, or that Mr. A. or Miss B. has made a very fortunate match, &c.—I have, indeed, heard a wise man of Gotham say he *expected* Alexander the Macedonian was the greatest conqueror of antiquity.—*Idem*, *p.* 535.

"*The man who builds, and wants wherewith to pay,*
Provides a home from which to run away."

In passing through New England, particularly Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a traveller is forcibly struck with the splendid and superb scale on which very many of the private houses are built. They far exceed, in a general way, the scale of expense adopted in this State, where our men of property expend perhaps not more than three or four or five per cent. on an average for show and parade in the structure of their houses. Whereas, in New England, there are many houses in which the expenses for ostentation are probably fifteen, and some twenty or twenty-five per cent. of *the whole* amount. The Pennsylvania system, though not so dashing or attractive, is at all events by far the most prudent.

A Philadelphian will probably feel his pride hurt to be assured that in Salem, Newburyport, Portsmouth, and *Portland*, there are probably more, or at least as many large and magnificent houses, as in this city. The contemplation of *those* houses in Portland, excites a train of melancholy ideas. Portland suffered extremely during the late suspension of business throughout the United States; and a considerable portion of the splendid houses belonged to persons who then became bankrupts. Some of them, I was informed, owed their destruction to the sums lavished upon these castles, and to the great increase in the high style of living that necessarily arose from thence.—*Idem*, p. 536.

Prostitution of the Theatre.—Those who do not look beyond the mere surface of things, are prone to censure managers with great severity, when theatres, which ought to be held sacred for exhibiting the grandest effusions of the human mind, are prostituted to puppet-shows, rope-dancing, pantomimes, and exhibitions of elephants, &c. Whatever of censure is due to this preposterous perversion, attaches elsewhere. It *falls* on those who frequent theatres. Dr. Johnson, in a prologue which he wrote for Garrick, places this idea in the *strongest* point of light.

"Ah let not censure term our fate our choice:
The stage but echoes back the public voice.
The drama's laws the drama's patrons give:
For *those who live to please, must please to live.*"

And therefore, if Romeo and Juliet, the Clandestine Marriage, the West Indian, the Gamester, Every One has his Fault, and other dramatic works of this order, fail to afford attractions equal to Mother Goose, Cinderella, the Forty Thieves, an elephant, or a band of Indians, can it be a subject of surprise if the managers furnish those bills of fare, which possess the greatest gratification for that public on whom they depend?—*Dramatic Censor, April*, 1810.

Samuel Foote.—It is an old and trite maxim that ridicule is by no means a test of truth—and yet it is an equally ancient remark, and equally true, that many a serious truth has been put out of countenance by ridicule, and that ridicule unsupported by wit or humour.

In a song sung by Mrs. Cibber, there was this line—

"The roses will bloom when there's peace in the breast."

Of the justice of which no man can entertain a doubt. The wicked wit Foote parodied the line, thus—

"The turtles will coo when there's peace in their craws."

And actually destroyed the popularity of the song.—*Ibid.*

A Spirited Manager.—The latter part of the following interesting anecdote of Garrick is unaccountably omitted in his life, by his biographer, Arthur Murphy.

In the year 1755, the English Roscius expended large sums of money in preparing what he termed a Chinese Festival, a grand spectacle on a most magnificent scale. He imported a large number of Swiss and Italians to appear in it, which excited considerable jealousy among the London populace, as a French war had then begun, and all foreigners were indiscriminately regarded as Frenchmen. There was considerable opposition made the first and second nights of its being exhibited—and the third night, November 18, there was a large party formed, who were determined to have it suppressed. Violent riots took place—"the rioters tore up the benches, broke the lustres, threw down the partitions of the boxes, and mounting the stage, demolished the Chinese scenery." The injury sus-

tained by the manager was very considerable, and required several days, and a very large sum of money to repair.

Some nights after, Garrick appeared on the stage in the character of Archer, and was imperiously and unjustly called upon to beg pardon of the audience. At this, his indignation was enkindled, and he advanced resolutely forward, stating the injury his property had sustained, and assuring them that "he was above want, superior to insult, and unless he was that night permitted to perform his duty to the best of his abilities, he would never—never appear upon the stage again." The audience were struck with the justice and propriety of what he said—felt ashamed of the vile scenes that had taken place, and of the indignity that had been offered to an old, a tried and a deserving favourite; and by an instantaneous burst of applause, bore a strong testimony against the rioters and in favour of the respectable manager.—*Ibid.*

Moody.—The preceding anecdote leads me to give another of the same description, respecting Moody, a very valuable performer, one of Garrick's company.

In the beginning of the year 1763, very considerable riots took place in Drury Lane, in consequence of an effort on the part of Garrick to abolish a shabby practice that had prevailed in London from time immemorial. This was to admit persons into the theatre after the third act, at half price. Great devastation was committed on every thing that could be destroyed in the theatre. A wicked villain took a light, and was deliberately setting fire to the scenes, which might have caused the death of a portion of the misguided agents in this disgraceful outrage. Moody fortunately perceived him, resolutely interposed, and prevented the perpetration of his nefarious design. The next night that he appeared, he was instantly called upon to beg pardon, for an act which merited the highest gratitude. Moody addressed the audience—"Gentlemen, if by hindering the house from being burned, and saving many of your lives, I have given you cause of displeasure, I ask your pardon." This exasperated them still further, and there was an universal outcry that he should beg pardon on his knees. Moody had too much spirit, and too high a sense of his own dignity, to comply—and resolutely addressed them once more —"Gentlemen, I will not degrade myself so low, even in your

opinion. By such an act, I should be an abject wretch, unfit ever to appear before you again." This said, and having made his bow he retired. Garrick "received him with open arms," and applauded him for his spirited conduct. The riot still continued, and the manager being called for, he went before the audience, and a loud clamour having been made to dismiss Moody for what was unjustly styled his insolence, Garrick assured them that he should not perform on that stage while he remained under their displeasure. He then went behind the scenes; and once more embracing Moody, pledged himself to pay his salary, notwithstanding his temporary exile.—*Ibid.*

Theatrical Licenses.—Although it is generally known that no new dramatic performance can be introduced on the stage in England, without the previous license of the lord chamberlain, it is not by any means equally well known to what cause this regulation owes its origin. Henry Fielding composed a theatrical representation to which he gave the name of Pasquin, the object of which was to satirize some of the most conspicuous characters in England, and among the number were the minister and many of his friends. This satirical performance became very popular, and was exhibited to crowded audiences for fifty successive nights. The exasperated minister, Robert Walpole, was determined to repress the licentiousness of the stage, and accordingly had a bill brought into parliament to prohibit the representation of any dramatic performance whatever, unless it had received the permission of the lord chamberlain. This act, which was carried in spite of the utmost opposition, took from the crown the power of licensing any more theatres, and inflicted considerable penalties on those who should violate its restrictions.*—*Ibid.*

Mrs. Centlivre.—The Busy Body.—The theatrical history affords numberless instances of the fallacy and folly of dogmatic decisions and premature judgments. It were endless to relate the cases of dramatic performances, which, previous to their being acted, were regarded by managers and actors as execrable,

* See Baker's Companion to the Play House, vol. i. p. 21, 22.

and certain of condemnation—and yet have lived a century beyond the existence of their judges. And the instances are at least as numerous of managers forming the most flattering anticipations of the success, and the consequent emoluments of performances which were, to use the technical term of the theatre, damned by the unanimous consent of the audience.

The Busy Body, by Mrs. Centlivre, is a very remarkable case in point. It was decried before its appearance by all the players—Mr. Wilkes, the Garrick of his day, for a time absolutely refused to take a part in it.—And the audience went to the theatre, so far prejudiced against it, as to contemplate its condemnation. Yet it was so favourably received, that it had a run of thirteen nights; and, after a lapse of above a century, for it was first represented in 1709, it is still received with applause, and ranks deservedly high among the stock plays.—*Ibid.*

Gay.—Beggar's Opera.—There is a still more striking illustration of the position laid down in the preceding paragraph, than was afforded by the Busy Body. The Beggar's Opera was offered to Cibber and the other managers of Drury Lane theatre, and after examination was rejected by them, as not likely to prove successful. The managers of the other theatre had a more correct anticipation of the issue of this production, and hailed it with joy and gladness. The event justified their opinion—for never was there a more extraordinary degree of success than attended this rejected performance. It had the unprecedented run of fifty three nights, I believe successively, the first season in London—It spread into every town in the three kingdoms, where there was a theatre, and was every where received with unbounded applause. The songs were printed on ladies' fans—and Miss Fenton, who performed the part of Polly, and who, previous to her appearance in that character, was in an inferior grade, became a first rate favourite, and was so high in the public opinion, that she was finally married to a peer of the realm. Gay's profits by this piece were above two thousand pounds sterling, or nearly nine thousand dollars.*—*Ibid.*

* See Baker, vol. i. p. 185.

GARRICK ONCE MORE.—It is mortifying to reflect how the fairest fame may be destroyed, and the best character be travestied in the public estimation, by a jest, a bon mot, or an epigram, which contains any very pointed allusion. The story tells to advantage. It is no diminution of its chance of progress, that it is in the very last degree void of even the shadow of foundation. Its wit, its humour, or its malignity embalms it, and saves it from destruction. It enlivens social circles—It spreads about, and gathers strength as it goes: It is almost as generally received as complete evidence, as if it had been judicially established.

These ideas are excited by the excellent character, whose name I have prefixed to this sketch. Of his avarice, Foote circulated some droll stories, which have had considerable currency, and found their way into most of the jest books that have been published for these thirty years. And it has been in consequence pretty generally believed that Garrick was a miserable, narrow-souled creature, whom the *auri sacra fames* would lead to any kind of meanness, and who was incapable of a liberal or munificent action. Of him I acknowledge I had formed this opinion: and such has been the opinion of most of my acquaintances. It gives me great pleasure to find that the charge is totally groundless; and that few men ever made a better use of their wealth—none were more ready with their purse on every occasion where distress or misfortune petitioned for assistance, or when any public spirited undertaking had a fair claim upon private liberality.

Malone's sketch of his life, and Boswell's Life of Johnson, contain numberless illustrious instances of his beneficence. Johnson, who was much in the habit of collecting money among his friends for the relief of persons in distress or embarrassment, repeatedly declared, that Garrick was always ready on these occasions, and that his contributions exceeded those of other persons in equal circumstances.

Garrick's liberality in the establishment of the fund for the relief of superannuated actors, would alone be sufficient to rescue him from the charge of avarice. He gave a benefit play yearly for that purpose, in which he always acted a leading character. He bestowed on the association two houses for the meetings of the managers;—and when the latter resolved to sell them, as unnecessary, Garrick bought them at the valua-

tion which was set upon them. He afterwards bequeathed them by his will to the increase of the fund.—*Ibid.*

As it was Damned.—One of Henry Fielding's farces having been hissed from the stage, the author, when he published it, instead of the usual annunciation, "as it was performed at the Theatre Royal," &c. substituted a more correct reading, "*as it was damned* at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane." This laudable example of candour has never since been copied by any of the bards whose performances have experienced the same awful fate.—*Ibid.*

Vindication of Lord Rochester.—A miscreant of the name of Fishbourne in the reign of Charles II. published a vile play, called Sodom, so detestably obscene, that the earl of Rochester, then in the full career of licentiousness and debauchery, finding it ascribed to him, thought it necessary publicly to disclaim the infamy of the authorship. This circumstance, coupled with the gross tendency of most of even the best plays of that time, must convey to the reader a tolerably correct idea how far the wretched author had outstripped his companions in the career of turpitude.—*Ibid.*

An Elegant Translation.—One Gordon (not Thomas Gordon, the translator of Tacitus,) translated Terence in the year 1752, and rendered the words, *ignarum artis meretricis*, "*quite a stranger to the trade of these b——s.*"—Ibid.

THE CRISIS.

No. I.

To the Committee of Defence.

At length the Crisis has arrived, when we must resolve either to surrender our liberties—to be recolonized—to expiate the offences of our forefathers—or manfully to defend our wives,

our children, our country, and that best gift of heaven, our freedom.

From very probable accounts just received there is reason to believe, that at least 10,000 more of the enemy may be very soon expected on our shores. But even independent of these accounts, it would be unwise not to prepare for such a result.

There is one most powerful instrument of defence and offence, not yet essayed in our country. It is the Pike, the weapon used by the Macedonian phalanx, the most formidable body of troops of ancient times. If promptly and energetically employed, it may and I trust will prove the salvation of our common country.

Its advantages are numerous and undeniable. Its length and lightness give it a decisive superiority over the musquet and bayonet. It can be immediately provided; for if our forges are put in requisition and employed upon this invaluable instrument, the whole nation may be armed in a few weeks. Six hours will teach the use of it to any man of the commonest capacity. Collections of people, who, with the musquet and bayonet, would be mere mobs, and as completely devoted to destruction when opposed to regular troops, as a parcel of sheep assailed by hungry wolves, would be able to meet and perhaps defeat a number equal to their own body. Children and even women might with this weapon aid their fathers and husbands in the business of defence.

It requires a long time for new troops to attain confidence in, or dexterity with the musket. Both confidence and dexterity are rapidly and insensibly gained in and with the Pike.

In fine, to sum up the whole, the facility of creation, the advantage of length, the ease of attaining the proper use of it, the confidence it inspires in inexperienced men, its applicability to the physical powers of children, and even of women, all combine to recommend the universal use of this weapon of defence.

It is therefore earnestly recommended to the citizens of the United States to lose no time in providing themselves with Pikes about eight feet long.

Philadelphia, August 24, 1814.

NO. II.

A few Facts and Reflections submitted to the most serious consideration of the Committee of Defence.

I. On the 16th of August, the British forces entered the Chesapeake. On the 24th, they burned the Capitol at Washington, after a march by land of 50 miles, and after crossing a river. This solemn fact, if any can, ought to dispel the mighty mists of error, under which we labour, as to the distance of danger.

II. A fleet with favourable winds might reach Chester from the Capes in twenty-four hours. The British need not, and of course will not, land below, if they mean to attempt Philadelphia.

III. Any expense of time, labour or money, devoted to any place below Chester, is therefore absolutely thrown away, as respects this city.

IV. If there were 1000 men, and 300 pieces of artillery at the fort, they could not impede the enemy in their march by land. It follows, that the time spent on that station, is to no purpose in the present emergency.

V. Our defence must, therefore, be made between Chester and the city. Redoubts, abbatis, &c. &c., all along the road, are imperiously, and loudly, and instantaneously called for. An hour's delay may be fatal, and decide our destiny.

VI. The mass of our citizens who have patriotically taken up arms, however brave, are destitute of experience, of discipline, and of skill in the use of the musquet. Want of skill inevitably inspires want of confidence.

VII. The danger is too pressing to admit of their acquiring skill in season. Courage without skill, is wholly unavailing.

VIII. The Pike is a most formidable instrument, and has a variety of recommendations:

1. It can be expeditiously made to any extent. By proper exertions, the whole population of the United States might be armed with Pikes probably in one month. The citizens of Philadelphia might be armed in a week.

2. It does not require the same regularity and discipline as the musquet.

3. The complete use of it might be acquired in six hours.

4. Old men and boys might use it. Should we have a conflict in the streets, our wives and daughters would be able to assist in the common defence.

5. The length of the Pike, and the facility with which it can be managed, give it a superiority over the musquet and bayonet.

6. The Pike, therefore, must be used in the event of an invasion, or ruin may ensue. "As if an angel spoke, I feel the solemn sound."

IX. Let me therefore invoke you by your regard for your country—by your beloved wives—by your dear children—by your comfortable homes—by the high responsibility you have assumed—set our smiths to work without delay—and have Pikes put into the hands of all our citizens inexperienced in the use of the musquet.

X. The Rifle is all important. It is a sure friend in the hour of extremity. Let a few corps of riflemen be immediately organized.

XI. No vessels ought to lie at our wharves. They will probably be set on fire, and may conflagrate the city.

XII. The arsenal ought immediately to be emptied of its contents.

XIII. The frigate ought to be sent as high as possible up the river.

XIV. The volunteer corps destined for our protection, are stationed at Kennet's Square, 35 miles from this city!!! A fleet might reach Chester, and an army march from Chester here, before these corps could be half way to the city! Are we destined to go on in one series of blunders, in regular succession?

XV. To tranquilize the public mind, and to prevent the circulation of false rumours, it would be advisable for the Committee to publish bulletins twice a day; in the morning and evening papers.

XVI. Business in the city ought to be generally suspended, so as to impress on the minds of the citizens a sense of the danger, and to inspire them with the spirit to meet and repel it.

XVII. Approaches may be made to the city on the Jersey side. A line of telegraphs ought to be established from Egg Harbour.—Remember the story of the one-eyed stag, that

placed her *blind side* towards the sea, and thought herself safe. *Blind sides* have cost the United States very dear. Let us get clear of them.

Philadelphia, August 31, 1814.

NO. III.

FORTIFICATIONS.

I. If there are seven fortifications to be erected, each requiring the labour of 500 men for ten days, it is equal to 35,000 days' labour in the whole.

II. If only 500 men be employed, they will require 70 days to erect them. At the present critical period, 70 days are an age.

III. If 3500 men were employed they would require only ten days. *The fate of our city may depend on a few days. Remember Alexandria!* Remember her spoils carried off in triumph! May we not expect the same fate if we are equally in the power of the enemy? Can any thing preserve us but the utmost promptitude and energy?

IV. As our citizens are doing no business, any one day for this employment is as convenient as any other.

V. It is probable that the male population of Philadelphia, above fifteen years of age, amounts to above 25,000.

VI. An energetic call from the Committee would readily insure 3500 men daily.

VII. A call by wards is far preferable to a call by trades or professions.

VIII. Newark sent 800 men at once to labour for the defence of New York. Philadelphia sends 4 or 500 per day to work for her own defence. What a contrast!

September 7, 1814.

NO. IV.

There is a strong probability of an attack upon New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. It is not very unlikely that all

·cessively attacked. The preparations making in
·s are satisfactory proofs of the public convictions

to be but little if any concert between these
·vious that the security of the whole might
·reased by a proper concert, whereby each
the defence of, and reciprocally receive
·e others, in any emergency.

·ans may, and some have been proposed to effect
·ensely important object. I venture to suggest one,
·n I hope will be found not only efficacious, but perfectly
practicable.

Let each city have a body of men enlisted for six, nine, or twelve months, amounting to 2,500. The number may be increased or diminished as may be found expedient, without affecting the utility of the project.

Let two camps be laid out in suitable places, one between Philadelphia and New York, and the other between the former city and Baltimore.

Let Philadelphia send half her quota to each camp, and Baltimore and New York the whole of theirs to the nearest one to them respectively.

By telegraphs, videttes, firing cannon, or in any other mode that may be devised, let the approach of the enemy be communicated with the utmost expedition to the city menaced with an attack.

As soon as the danger is reduced to certainty, let an order be sent by the governor of the state whose capital requires aid, who is to be duly authorized for this purpose, to break up the camps, and to march the troops to the most probable point of attack.

It is unnecessary to detail the advantages each of the cities would derive from the courage and vigour that would be inspired by the certainty of a solid body of 5,000 disciplined soldiers, in addition to its own proper resources.

An enemy's force that would otherwise be able successively to take and destroy the three cities, might, by such an arrangement, be wholly defeated in the attack upon one. In fact, a prudent enemy would shun the risque, unless with a most commanding force.

Auxiliary to this arrangement, the militia of New Jersey and

of Delaware ought to be held in a state of requisition, the former for the defence of New York or Philadelphia, the latter for the defence of Philadelphia or Baltimore.

September 10, 1814.

To Simon Snyder, Esq. Governor of the State of Pennsylvania.

We, the subscribers, citizens of Philadelphia, deeply impressed with the serious situation of public affairs—with the dangers that impend over us—and with the necessity of promptitude and energy—take the liberty to request that you will immediately step forward at this crisis, and adopt such decisive and vigorous measures, for the common defence and general welfare, as the emergency may require.

We firmly hope, that with a boldness and decision worthy of the governor of a commonwealth comprising nearly a million of souls, you will not, in the adoption of these measures, be withheld by scruples respecting the constitution. The public safety is the paramount law of society; and is the principal inducement for man to enter into society.—To that sovereign law, all others must bend. It would be an awful error to allow constitutional scruples to prevent the adoption of any measure of preservation necessary to shield us from an enemy, whose success may overwhelm us—our constitutions—and our laws—in one common mass of ruin.

We therefore hope you will immediately raise as many soldiers as may be practicable;—have the cattle driven away before the enemy seizes them,—have the roads and bridges by which he is likely to pass, obstructed or destroyed;—have the channel of the river blocked up as near the mouth as may be;—take all other steps your own good sense may dictate,—and liberally expend the public money for public defence. To no other object can it be more laudably applied. Ten thousand times better would it be to close this contest with an empty treasury and perfect security, than to be buried under the wreck of our freedom, and leave behind us an overflowing treasury for the use of our enemies.

Should the paramount duty imperiously imposed on you by the exigency of the times, require any infraction of the constitution, it cannot be doubted that an enlightened legislature will

unhesitatingly exonerate you by an act of indemnity.—And should your exertions be crowned with success, as we hope and trust they will, you will have the proud triumph of having nobly contributed to preserve that glorious fabric erected by the talents and the sacrifices of the statesmen and heroes of the Revolution.

Philadelphia, September 14, 1814.

Some Notices of Kentucky, particularly of its chief town, Lexington.

Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792. Its population was 73,675 in 1790; 220,959 in 1800; 406,571 in 1810; and 564,317 in 1820.

Lexington was founded in April, 1779, but made slow progress for some time; as in 1797, it contained but 50 houses. It has, since that period, increased rapidly, and now contains about 1000 houses and 6000 inhabitants. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and the houses, which are generally of brick, are handsome: a large proportion of them may compare with the generality of the houses in Philadelphia. There are fewer mean, shabby houses, than perhaps in any other town of the same size.

In streets of business, the rents average from 6 to 8 per cent. on the cost. Dwelling houses average from 4 to 6 per cent.

Lexington is situated in the centre of the most beautiful part of the state. In salubrity of climate and fertility of soil, it is probably rarely surpassed. The soil is so luxuriant that it produces abundant crops for 15, 18, or 20 years in succession, without the aid of manure. The beauty and variety of the forest foliage, and the richness of verdure in the fields, render it a feast to the eye—and its aptitude for every species of culture, highly recommends it to the agriculturist. There is a great number of elegant country seats around it, among which that of Col. Meade claims a most distinguished place. The venerable proprietor is above eighty-five years old, and has been married about 60 years. His faculties do not appear impaired. His wife, nearly as old as he, is still living.

Lexington has a respectable public Library, which contains

at present 5800 volumes, and is gradually increasing. It is open every afternoon except Sunday.

The town contains nine churches: two Presbyterian, one Episcopalian, one Catholic, two Methodist, one Baptist, one Unitarian, and one African.

In the Transylvania University there are five medical professors and one professor of law. In the preparatory department, there is one tutor. The academy, which is connected with the University, is under the government of a president and two professors.

The number of students in January last, was 203.

The College is an elegant and commodious building. The Library contains a valuable collection of historical, scientific, and miscellaneous works, in various languages. The apparatus is complete and excellent, and was imported from the best manufactories in Europe. The building for the medical department is a handsome brick edifice, well adapted for its purposes. The library of this department, is an excellent collection, of from 2500 to 3000 volumes, selected in Europe by Dr. Caldwell, despatched for that especial duty.*

The Academical and Classical departments have suffered considerably during the last year, for the want of a president and of funds; but the latter have been supplied by the exertions of some public-spirited citizens of Lexington, who are determined to sustain the College. And there is reason to believe that under the new president, Mr. Woods, late of Providence, R. I., who commences his career during the present month, these departments will be revived, and be placed on as prosperous a foundation as the department of medicine.

There is a literary society in the town, called the Kentucky Institute, founded by the late President Holly, of which the members meet at each other's houses monthly, in alphabetical order.

The trade of Lexington is not quite so flourishing as formerly.—This arises chiefly from the superior advantages afforded by steam navigation to Louisville and Cincinnati, which have drawn off a portion of the trade that formerly centered in Lexington. The major part of the citizens of the south-western states, who formerly either sojourned in Lexington or passed

* The chief part of the building of this University with its Law Library, one half of the Academical Library, and the Philosophical Library, were destroyed by fire on the 9th of May, 1829.

through it, during the sickly months, now direct their steps to Cincinnati. This has cut off a source of the prosperity of the former town.

In order to revive the trade and commerce of Lexington, some of its public-spirited citizens contemplate the formation of a society for the promotion of internal improvement, similar to that formed in this city, which gave such acceleration to the canal system in Pennsylvania. The object is to disseminate, as widely as possible, essays calculated to arouse the citizens generally to the necessity of facilitating the communication between the different parts of the state, so as to act upon the Legislature, and impel them to adopt efficient measures for the purpose. The scarcity of water debars Kentucky from the prospect of ever enjoying the advantage of canals, except on a very contracted scale.

A rail road is contemplated from Lexington to Louisville or Cincinnati, or perhaps ultimately to both. This measure would be transcendently important to Lexington, and not only prevent any further diminution of her trade, but would greatly enhance it, and pay a noble interest to the undertakers.

Lexington, however, enjoys advantages of which she can never be deprived. She has numbers of most important manufactures, unfailing sources of wealth and prosperity.

There are in the town, ten manufactories of cotton bagging and bale rope, in which 500 people are employed, of whom not more than two per cent. are white. There are in other parts of the state as many more. The annual produce is nearly one million of yards of cotton bagging, and 2,000,000 lbs. of bale rope, besides large quantities of twine and yarns.

There are ten cotton manufactories, some of them on a large and respectable scale. The Fayette factory, near the town, spins weekly between 4 and 5000 dozen cotton, and has recently put up looms to make about 50 pieces of muslin, 30 yards each, per week. Mr. James Weir's cotton factory works up about 250 bales of cotton per annum. There are three woollen manufactories.

The Lexington white and red lead manufacturing company, manufactures annually from 80 to 100,000 lbs. of white, and about 10,000 lbs. of red lead. The stock is about $60,000, and the dividends are about 8 per cent. per annum.

Besides these manufactories, there is a great number of other establishments, embracing nearly all the varieties of employ-

ments that conduce to human comfort or security—grist mills, paper mills, breweries of beer and porter, rope walks, distilleries, foundries, manufactories of nails, &c. &c. &c. In the neighbourhood of Lexington, about 2000 tons of hemp are raised annually. The culture has greatly increased of late. Besides hemp, the state produces for export, tobacco, Indian corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, flour, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, mules, &c. &c.

There are three papers published in Lexington, two political and one religious. In the state there are from 20 to 25.

Kentucky has suffered greatly by the fluctuations of her paper currency, by the bankruptcy of her banks, and by her relief laws, &c. &c. She is now recovering from her difficulties, and has one specie-paying bank, with a number of branches, of which the paper is in a perfectly sound state. Her broken banks are winding up their concerns. The bank of the United States has two branches in the state, one at Lexington, and the other at Louisville.

Louisville is a very thriving town, and is supposed to have about 6000 inhabitants. The important canal at the falls will probably be completed in a year or two. Opinions are much divided as to its effects upon the prosperity of the town—some believing it will prove highly beneficial, and others directly the reverse. The former opinion appears the more natural. It will probably be injurious to Shippingport, a town about two miles from Louisville, containing above 2000 inhabitants, the prosperity of which depends in a great measure, upon being the depot for merchandise, which, except when the river is high, cannot be conveyed round the falls, by water.

In Lexington and Louisville, a custom prevails, which adds greatly to the comfort of society, and which is not usual in our great cities.—In nine cases out of ten, where intimacies exist between married men, they extend to the females of the respective families. Whereas it is well known that in Philadelphia and New York, intimacies frequently exist for years between married men, whose wives are unknown to each other.

It now remains to take a rapid sketch of the character of the citizens of Kentucky. That character is on the whole estimable. Its distinguishing features are, a high degree of shrewdness and intelligence—natural politeness, untrammelled by the formality, the etiquette, and the distinction of castes, that generally prevail in older stages of society—and genuine

hospitality towards strangers. In these three very important items, Kentucky will advantageously compare with any state in the Union. This character is derived from an impartial examination of its citizens, in steam boats, in taverns, in stages, at ordinaries, in private circles, and in large parties. I am well aware that it by no means corresponds with the prejudices of the generality of the citizens of the other states, and shall endeavour to show whereon those prejudices rest, and the reason why they are so erroneous. Such prejudices are highly pernicious when they prevail among members of the same family of nations, exciting alienation and hostility—and I therefore hope that the attempt to obliterate them will not be regarded with indifference by those whose good opinion is worth cultivating.

There are few sources of error more prolific, than the habit to which mankind are prone, of generalizing without adequate data—and from individual cases inferring the character and qualities of communities and nations. We have heard of travellers, who pronounced dogmatically on the character of a nation from an intercourse with a few persons in a town or city—and one is particularly renowned, who having seen, on the day of his arrival, a number of old and homely women, and none either young or beautiful, is reported to have very judiciously entered among his memorabilia, "N. B. All the women in this place *old and ugly*."

It is not very honourable to human nature that this tendency to generalization is more prevalent as regards deformity of character than the contrary. Fifty upright or virtuous individuals, of any particular profession, community, or nation, will not be so likely to induce us to pourtray the whole mass *couleur de rose*, as ten or a dozen fraudulent or worthless persons to lead us to assume a general worthlessness.

When once a national character is blemished, whether correctly or otherwise, every incident that occurs, tending to afford any sort of support to the blemish, is caught at with avidity, and regarded as "confirmation strong as proofs from holy writ." Whereas ten cases equally strong, occurring in nations not lying under such blemish, attach no national disgrace.

It is within the recollection of most of us, that a strong prejudice prevailed against the people of New England, at no very distant day; and every petty trick perpetrated by a New England man was triumphantly adduced in full proof of the cor-

rectness of the prejudice.—Thus a whole district of country, containing above a million and a half of souls, was made responsible for the misconduct of every individual in it. The injustice of this procedure is now well known and acknowledged by men of liberal minds—although it still lingers among a few of the low and the vulgar.

To apply this reasoning to Kentucky. Among the early settlers in that state, as in most newly settled countries, were some profligate characters, by whom it was regarded as a place of refuge, an asylum for the abandoned and worthless. Though those characters bore but a very small proportion to the mass of the population, they served to affix a stigma on the whole. Such a stigma once fixed is not easily removed—and it is to be regretted that little or no pains have been taken to remove it, although now without the least foundation—and although the people of the state may fairly vie with their fellow citizens of other states. The following testimonials of the character of the early settlers fully show the fallacy of some of the prevailing opinions on the subject—in the other states.

Filson, in his history of the discovery, settlement, &c. of Kentucky [1784] says of the inhabitants, "They are, in general, polite, humane, hospitable, and very complaisant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs and religions, which may in time be modified to one uniform. As yet united to Virginia, they are governed by her wholesome laws, which are virtuously executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of assembly of Virginia."

Imlay, in his letters descriptive of the Western Country, testifies in glowing colours, to the simplicity and excellence of the manners and society of Kentucky at an early period.

"Such," says Marshal, speaking of the period about the year 1781, "was the pressure of danger, the simplicity of manners, the integrity of the people, and the state of property, that there was but little use for criminal law, until a later period."—History of Kentucky, vol. i. page 119. Edition of 1824.

One circumstance which tends to perpetuate the prejudice is the conduct of the Kentucky boatmen on the Ohio and the Mississippi, some of whom appear to pride themselves on the roughness and rudeness of their manners—"half horse, half alligator," &c. But it would be quite as just to characterize the inhabitants of New York from the conduct of the boatmen

or porters who ply at the ferries on the Hudson or the East River, as the people of Kentucky from the boatmen of the Ohio and Mississippi.

Many people believe that human life is most wantonly sported with in Kentucky—and that there is danger of murder in passing through the state. This is a miserable error. That homicide has increased within a few years in the United States, is a lamentable truth—and that Kentucky has partaken of the crime is beyond doubt. But it is equally true that it is full as prevalent in some, and more prevalent in other states, to which no particular censure attaches on this ground.

The writer of this has travelled a considerable distance through the state—sojourned some time in Lexington and Louisville,—and had very extensive intercourse with citizens of various descriptions, and different parties: and during the whole time never met with or saw a single instance of the slightest departure from the strictest rules of propriety and decorum, even in classes among whom such a departure is elsewhere not unfrequent. So far as Lexington is concerned, he believes that in every thing that renders society respectable, it is not inferior to any city or town in the Union.

Philadelphia, Aug. 23, 1828.

CIRCULAR.

It is self evident, that as man is an imitative animal, the dissemination of striking instances of the social virtues, charity, generosity, liberality, gratitude, heroism, public spirit, &c. cannot fail to have a salutary tendency, by exciting a spirit of emulation, and approximating the human character to that standard of perfection at which it is frequently exhibited in history, not merely among foreign nations and in remote ages, but in the United States, particularly during "the times that tried men's souls," when country was every thing, and self and sordid interest, comparatively nothing—an object that must be deeply interesting to all good men. It may, therefore, be regarded as a duty which we owe to society, to diffuse, as generally as possible, the knowledge of such virtues—which is the more necessary, as almost every instance of vice, or crime, that occurs in this country, throughout its wide extent, and, in

addition, the atrocities of Europe, are collected in most of our newspapers, and widely circulated; and the more heinous, the more secure of publication, and the more eagerly read—thus producing, to a certain degree, an infectious moral atmosphere. Under these circumstances, the best interests of society require a constant effort at counteraction, by disseminating, as far as practicable, the antidote *pari passu* with the poison.

Under these impressions, I have judged that I could not employ some of my leisure hours to more advantage, than by collecting facts falling within the above description of the social virtues. I have already published two series, of three numbers each. But from the difficulty of procuring materials, notwithstanding they abound throughout the country, and from the indifference unfortunately displayed on the subject, by those capable of furnishing them, the publications have been, "like Angels' visits, few and far between."

The importance I attach to this object, induces me to make an attempt to resume the publication, and to continue it periodically; for which purpose I request you will be so kind, not only to furnish such communications as may be suitable for my purpose, but to urge your friends to pursue the same course. I would not confine them altogether to this country, but shall occasionally insert a few of foreign occurrence. The former, however, will have a decided preference. To enable you to form an opinion of the plan, I enclose a copy of one of the former numbers.

That these essays will have a favourable effect, I fondly hope —whether to the extent of my wishes, is a matter of uncertainty. We are told by high authority, that no good effort is wholly lost—and I therefore cherish the idea that some of the noble and beneficent actions which I thus record, may, even during the very short period of life that remains to a man in his seventieth year—but, at all events, when I am laid in the grave —produce that "divine spark" of emulation, which is the parent of nearly all the goodness displayed in this world, and without a portion of which, man is little more than a sordid, selfish, worthless animal.

Philadelphia, Feb. 9, 1829.

* I regret to state that this invitation produced no effect. I have not received a single communication, since the publication of this circular, al-

CIRCULAR.

I have for many years deeply regretted, that numerous pamphlets published in Great Britain, admirably calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of society, are never republished here; and as only a few copies of pamphlets are imported, they are almost altogether unknown to our citizens—I have likewise regretted that many pamphlets and essays of a similar character, written and published in this country, are almost wholly unknown out of the town or city in which they make their appearance. To obviate this evil, and disseminate such productions extensively, I submit for your consideration, *a projet*, which, if properly supported, will answer that purpose to a certain extent. It remains to be seen whether in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, there can be found a dozen or twenty public-spirited citizens, who will make the trifling sacrifice necessary for the accomplishment of so important an object.

Philadelphia, May 18, 1830.

P. S. May I be permitted to add, that for above eleven years past, I have annually expended in printing and paper, for the public benefit, gratuitously, above twelve times the amount of the proposed subscription? Is it not full time to call for co-operation.

Whereas numerous pamphlets are published in Great Britain, which would be eminently beneficial to society, if republished here—but which, from their very limited probable sales, no bookseller could publish without loss, and therefore they are almost altogether unknown to our citizens—and whereas various pamphlets and newspaper essays, equally valuable, appear in this country, which have a very limited circulation—and whereas it is highly desirable, that productions of this description should be disseminated as widely as possible—and

though copies of it were sent to respectable citizens in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. However, I selected from the newspapers, enough of articles to fill three numbers of the third series. The whole collection makes nine numbers, of each of which I distributed gratuitously 250 copies. I regret the utter inattention to the request of communications, a compliance with which would cost so little time or trouble, and could scarcely fail to be eminently useful.

whereas associations for the promotion of useful knowledge have been found highly advantageous in Great Britain, and would be equally useful in this country—therefore the subscribers have resolved to associate for the purpose of publishing and circulating gratuitously, pamphlets and essays of the character above described, under the following constitution:—

1. The title of this Association shall be—"The Society for the dissemination of Useful Knowledge."

2. It shall consist of as many members as shall sign this Constitution, and conform to its terms.

3. The officers shall be a President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall have all the powers, and perform all the duties usually pertaining to such officers.

4. The subscription shall be twenty-five dollars, payable at the time of subscription.

5. As this is a novel undertaking, and may not be found to answer the expectations of the parties, the engagement shall be only for a year, in the first instance; to be renewed, at the expiration of that term, should the members judge proper.

6. It shall go into operation as soon as twelve subscribers are procured.

7. A committee of publication, of three members, shall be appointed, without whose unanimous concurrence no pamphlet shall be printed.

8. No works on any points whatever of religious controversy, or politics, or on the disputed points of political economy, shall be published by the Society.

9. Among the primary objects of the Society, shall be the dissemination of important statistics; of sound doctrines on the subject of education, and on the best means of promoting national and individual prosperity, happiness, and virtue.

10. Such pamphlets or essays as the Society shall publish, shall be distributed, gratuitously, as extensively as possible through the union, among enlightened citizens likely to have influence on society.*

* As this plan, of which the utility cannot be doubted, required but few co-operators, and a small pecuniary sacrifice from each, I was very sanguine in my expectations of its success. But I regret to say, it proved an abortion, although I applied to several citizens of great wealth, and others, of great influence. I procured but four subscribers.—The liberal and excellent Gen. Van Rensselaer, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Nicholas Biddle, and E. J. Pierce, Esqs. Of course, it is abandoned for the present. I may make another effort to insure its success.

The fate of actors in genteel comedy and in tragedy on the one hand, and in low comedy and farce on the other, is widely different. The gallery, easily excited by the latter line of acting, has little relish for tragic excellence, or for the finest traits in genteel comedy, but is vociferous in its applause of low comedy and farce, and the broader the better. Thus, while as I have stated, tragic excellence often passes off in silence, low comedy and farce, of which the latter often descends to downright buffoonery, are rewarded with the highest degree of applause!

Philadelphia, December, 1827.

To the Editors of the Philadelphia Daily Papers.

GENTLEMEN,—I respectfully request your attention to a few remarks, which, I hope, will be received with the same spirit of candour in which they are dictated.

For above ten years I have devoted a great portion of my time to writing, to promote the public good, in which cause I have made heavy sacrifices of money, at least $300 per annum for printing and paper.—One printer's account for little more than three months, from Dec. 5, 1828, till the 14th ult. is 171 dollars—and the work for which I have not yet had an account, will swell the sum to at least $200.

In this course, the utmost ingenuity of malice can scarcely suppose personal views. I seek no office from government or people. I would accept none. I care little for popularity. In fact, no small portion of my writings, all my life, have run against popular prejudice. My object, for the short remainder of my career, is to render my time and my slender talents as extensively useful as possible.

In my attempts to promote the public welfare, (not having for many years written a line in the most remote degree connected with party or faction,) I expected, and surely not unreasonably, the co-operation of good men of all parties—those whose views extend beyond their own private concerns. And in a particular manner, I placed great reliance on the public press, which has so great an influence on public opinion, and of whose editors it appears to me to be the indispensable duty to

promote not merely by republication, but by their own editorial remarks, all objects decidedly salutary.

I have been disappointed. The essays I have written have been republished in few of our papers. And with two or three exceptions there has scarcely been an editorial line in favour of any of the objects advocated. When my essays have been inserted, it has generally been through importunity, and as a sort of personal favour conferred on the writer. It appears that a positive sentence of exclusion from half the papers in the city has been pronounced against my writings.

I shall give some recent instances, out of numbers of similar import, which might be mentioned.

Within a few weeks I have published, at considerable expense, some essays on subjects such as, I presume, can hardly be regarded by any good man without deep interest. I sent them cotemporaneously to the daily papers, with a view of avoiding that jealousy, which (very incorrectly, in my humble opinion) prevents many editors from copying essays from other papers, however interesting the subjects, thus greatly abridging the utility of writing for the public benefit.

Among the number was a set of essays in defence of the system of prison discipline successfully carried into operation at Auburn, and in opposition to the expensive and visionary scheme of our Penitentiary. In defence of the latter, numerous essays and sets of essays have been published—and I thought it but fair and right that the public should hear both sides of the question, in order to form a correct judgment on a subject of deep importance. But it did not seem meet in editorial eyes—and the essays were rejected, except by a single editor.

One of my essays contains a number of instances of acts of liberality and generosity, intended and well calculated to excite generally that noble spirit by which the wealthy citizens of Boston and other parts of New England are so honourably distinguished. Surely such a publication could not fail, every where, and particularly in a city where few wealthy men aspire to the character of Mæcenases, and where "*populus me sibilat*," &c., appears to be the prevailing motto, to prove more or less useful. Its tendency to liberalize the human mind, and elevate it above the sordid views that degrade and debase our nature, ought perhaps to have secured it a general circulation. But it has not been republished, I believe, except in one single paper.

Another essay contains a statement of the rise, progress, and present situation of the Infant Schools in this city, together with such facts and arguments as appear calculated to excite public attention to, and conciliate public favour in support of, those all important institutions, which are pregnant with incalculable good to society. There is probably no object whatever, on which a more general uniformity of opinion prevails, than in regard to the utility of those establishments. But notwithstanding this, the essay has not been reprinted.

The last article I shall mention is the report of the Committee appointed by a town meeting, to inquire into the effect of the low wages of females, &c. This, as a public document, has by virtue of that title, a claim to general circulation. But, independently of that claim, it has an equal one, from the nature of its subject. It advocates the rights, and places in strong relief, the sufferings and the horrible oppression of a large and interesting portion of our population—oppression and sufferings, which, "disguise them as we may," tarnish the character of our city, are discreditable to human nature, and tend to the demoralization of society. This has not appeared, I believe, in any of our papers.

When I wrote so often and so copiously on political economy, a mooted point, my views of which were odious to many of the most influential of the supporters of our public papers, and to some of their editors, I was by no means surprised at their exclusion. But when I write on subjects, on which no two good men can disagree, as is the case in the three last instances, I confess I am as much surprised as grieved at the proscription of my essays.

This letter will probably offend some of the "*genus irritabile editorum.*" It ought not to produce that effect. It is a plain statement of facts which cannot be denied, and of conclusions that appear to flow naturally from them. The course which it depicts, I must be pardoned for saying, detracts greatly from the utility of the press. Be this, however, as it may, from whatever censure may arise from the communication, I shall never shrink. Newspaper editors have no scruple about citing to the bar of public opinion, "powers and dignities"—and, however potent they may themselves be, they have no right to claim an exemption from a similar citation.

Having been three times editor and proprietor of newspapers—I have well considered the rights and duties of an editor

—and I am persuaded that the question respecting the propriety of insertion of essays, is not, whether they are original or selected, but whether they are, or are not, calculated to subserve the interests of society—to promote public prosperity and private virtue. And, however extravagant and heretical the doctrine may appear to you, gentlemen, I more than doubt the right of an editor to exclude from his columns decorous lucubrations on important subjects.*

Philadelphia, April 8, 1829.

REMARKS ON THE TRAGEDY OF HAMLET.

Strike—but hear me.

Among the impediments to the progress of truth, there is scarcely any more formidable than the spirit of party. Even the best and most enlightened men, when they allow this spirit to domineer over them, as oftentimes occurs, are led astray, and fall into grievous errors. The reasoning powers lose their energies, and every object on which its influence is exerted, is viewed through an incorrect and deceptive medium.

In common parlance, the operations of this spirit are confined to political subjects. But this is quite too circumscribed a view of it. The baleful influence, arising from it, extends to questions respecting articles of faith—to moral conduct—to modes of dress and behaviour—to public amusements—to epidemical disorders—to literature and literary men—to national character—and, in fine, to every subject, that in any great degree attracts the attention, or divides the opinions of mankind.

One of its obvious and almost universal effects is to induce us to lavish praise and censure without discrimination. Those we admire, have hardly any fault—those we condemn, hardly any virtue. The same effect is produced on our opinion of talents and acquirements. Under the influence of this temporary frenzy, a molehill of vice, or virtue, or talents, becomes a

* Sept. 22d 1830. Since the preceding letter was written, I have offered twelve or fourteen essays, on subjects of deep public interest, to the printers of the Philadelphia daily papers, which have been steadily and undeviatingly rejected by at least half of them.

mountain; and a mountain, large as the Alps, dwindles down into an ant-heap.

A very moderate degree of intellect or reflection will convince any dispassionate man how very pernicious must be the consequences of this propensity to the cause of truth, how very extensive its effects, and how diametrically opposite it is to correct logic. So far as its influence extends, so far does it create and uphold folly, nonsense, and prejudice.

This spirit has in England found very active employment in the case of Shakspeare. His admirers have, in the excess of their enthusiasm, exercised the utmost ingenuity, not merely to varnish over and palliate defects, but frequently to convert them into beauties. Almost every man who has undertaken to point out error or defect or incongruity in his dramatic productions, has been unblushingly charged with unworthy motives, arrogance, envy, or malice. Some respectable foreign critics, among others Voltaire, Condorcet, and Marmontel, who tried Shakspeare's dramas, by the rigid rules of criticism, by the observance or violation of the "unities,"—rules with which that writer was very probably unacquainted, and by which, of course, he could not have fashioned his works, have been treated with indecency and indecorum. Voltaire, in particular, has been charged with pilfering from Shakspeare, and then decrying his merits to prevent a detection of his plagiarisms! An absurd and ridiculous allegation, the proof of which has never, I believe, been attempted, by any collation of the works of the two writers. At all events, no such attempt appears in the notes or commentaries of any of the editions of Shakspeare, which I have ever seen—nor in Richardson's analysis, a most elaborate work, which affords the strongest proofs any where to be met with, of the address, and effort, with which men strain every nerve to support a favourite hypothesis. I might adduce numberless instances of this description, which occur in the Analysis; but I shall confine myself to the following one:—

Richardson, after having stated the various difficulties, under which Hamlet laboured, and the delicacy of his situation, observes, "If the poet had represented him as acting with steady vigour and unexceptionable propriety, he would have represented not Hamlet, but a creature so fanciful, as to have no prototype in human nature." What! the hero of a tragedy discovers that his father has been murdered, that the sceptre which

he himself should wield, is actually in the hands of the murderer; that his mother is to a certain extent implicated in the crime; and is, moreover, imperiously commanded by his father's ghost to avenge his death, and solemnly pledges himself to comply with this awful injunction. Under these circumstances, which appear enough to nerve the arm and sharpen the steel of Cowardice herself personified, he would, according to the critic, if "he had acted with steady vigour, and unexceptionable propriety," have outdone the usual outdoings of man, and have had no "prototype in human nature." Surely this is most extravagant folly, totally inconsistent with the sober character of Richardson, and only to be accounted for by the influence of the "spirit of party" at whose operations I have slightly glanced.

No writer ever possessed in a higher degree than Shakspeare a profound knowledge of human nature, the art of delineating passion with correctness, an inexhaustible fund of the most just sentiments, suited to every scene of life, and to every possible diversity of human character; and, to crown the whole, the all important faculty of interesting, in the highest degree, the feelings and passions of an auditory. Had his skill in the plan and contrivance and plots of his dramas been equal to the high qualifications here enumerated, he would have been a paragon of perfection as a dramatist, and left nothing for the most malignant critic to censure. But it requires an uncommon share of infatuation, not to acknowledge, that many of his productions are disfigured by most glaring incongruities and *absurdities, and that in the same page are to be found the most splendid and sublime passages, with the most extravagant rhapsodies, and silly puerilities. I think these striking contrasts occur more frequently in the works of this illustrious writer, than in those of any other author of great celebrity, ancient or modern.

A man of a candid or liberal mind would be as unwilling to varnish over the defects of a favourite writer, as to justify the aberrations from rectitude of an esteemed friend. The only correct motto in both cases, ought to be: *Amicus Plato, amicus Solon, sed magis amica veritas.*

With these views, I venture to offer a few cursory remarks upon the tragedy of Hamlet, which appears the most exception-

* Some of the dialogue in Othello is as gross as any part of the works of lord Rochester.

able of Shakspeare's dramas, so far as respects consistency of character, management of plot, and the moral to be drawn from the denouement of the piece.

To form a correct estimate of any dramatic performance, the first steps necessary to be taken are, to fix precisely what are the true objects of the drama; to lay down rules for the attainment of those objects; and to test the performance in question by these rules. Whoever pursues this plan correctly, has a fair chance of success.

Theatrical representations have two objects. The first, is to amuse, to entertain, and relax the mind after the fatigues and cares of business. But the second is a more noble one. They are intended to cultivate and refine the heart, and to expand and enlighten the understanding.

"Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo."

The most important of the two objects, is attained, by the exhibition of some character, male or female, disfigured by vices, which are displayed in all their enormity, in order to be avoided, or ennobled by virtues, which are intended to excite imitation. I do not pretend that this definition is strictly logical, or stated in the proper technical form. But I trust it is sufficiently accurate to answer our present purpose.

To excite to an emulation of the virtues of the hero, or heroine of a drama, they ought to be drawn with little if any shad . For the same reason, the vices or crimes of the bad characters ought to be as little relieved by a mixture of good actions.

The reasons for these maxims are obvious. If we find vice or folly, to a considerable extent, in the conduct or character of a good man, in a proportionable degree it diminishes our respect for him, and our emulation of his good qualities. In like manner our abhorrence of a bad man, is changed into, or alloyed with, commiseration, if his guilt be intermingled with virtues or benevolent actions.

It may, and no doubt will, be said in reply to this, that few men are uniformly good, or uniformly bad; that human life is a variegated scene, in which vice and virtue, wisdom and folly alternately reign triumphant;—and that therefore the dramatist who exhibits a mixture of good and evil in his dramatis personæ, does no more than merely copy after human nature. And conformably with this idea a clamour has been excited against certain writers who have pourtrayed characters in a very high degree of perfection. They are charged with drawing "faultless mon-

sters" such as the world does not exhibit, and who are merely the creatures of their own fervid fancies.

The force of this reasoning appears to apply in some degree to those works of imagination, called novels, romances, &c. &c. which profess to draw full length portraits of characters throughout a whole life. In such a long career, the good man will occasionally fall into aberrations from virtue, and the passions of the wicked man will lose somewhat of their influence and malignity, and he will stray away from his career of wickedness, and occasionally deviate into acts of virtue.

But, although this is the actual course of human nature, we do not find it has been the course pursued by the best and purest models of writing in the world. I believe all the leading characters of Homer, with whom certainly the admirers of Shakspeare cannot be displeased to have him compared, are distinguished by an undeviating line of uniformity. Achilles is *da capo* an unrelenting, ferocious savage, whose arrogance, and egotism, and revenge, swallow up every possible concern for the welfare and even for the safety of his countrymen. He does not display a single instance of patriotism, public spirit, or disinterestedness. Irritated by a personal affront and injury, he sullenly and basely retires to his ship, rejoicing over the destruction of the Greeks, as fully proving the extreme disadvantage and ruin attendant on his abandonment of the common cause. Ulysses is equally uniform. He is throughout, a crafty, designing, unprincipled, machiavelian politician, who prefers the accomplishment of his schemes by fraud and deception, to bold or magnanimous enterprise. Paris is a contemptible, luxurious, dissolute, profligate, and cowardly coxcomb. He is, like the rest, *semper idem*. Hector, the favourite, and almost adored object of every reader, young and old, unites in himself a constellation of virtues, unsullied by the slightest stain. It were endless to recapitulate. In a word, through the whole progress of the poem, which embraces a period of above ten years, there is scarcely a single instance of a departure from the strongly drawn features of the character, whether marked by folly, vice, or crime, or by the opposite good qualities and virtues.

If we strictly examine those novels, romances, narrative poems, and other works, which profess to delineate human nature, and which have been honoured with the strongest marks of universal approbation, we shall find that their authors have

generally followed the same plan. The virtuous are uniformly virtuous, and the same uniformity is observable in those whose career is marked by turpitude.

Shakspeare himself has generally followed this rule.—His Shylock, Macbeth, lady Macbeth, Richard the Third, and Iago, do not exhibit one single trait of virtue to redeem themselves from perdition. Nor does his Romeo or Juliet, or any other of his excellent characters, display less uniformity. So much for practice. Let us now attend to theory—to the maxims of the most accomplished of all critics, the man whose rules are, throughout the whole civilized world, regarded as the eternal canons of correct writing.

> "Sit Medea ferox, invictaque; flebilis Ino;
> Perfidus Ixion; Io vaga; tristis Orestes.
> Si quid inexpertum scenæ committis, et audes
> Personam formare novam, *servetur ad imum*
> *Qualis ab incepto processerit*, et sibi constet."
>
> Horat. de Arte Poetica, l. 223.

Here is a summary of rules for dramatic writing. Its basis rests upon the *servare ad imum qualis ab incepto processerit*, and the *constare sibi*. This is the plain dictate of reason and common sense.

I shall attempt to prove that this infallible rule is wholly disregarded in the character of Hamlet, whose conduct is throughout, highly incongruous. But I shall previously point out some considerable errors in the management of the business of the tragedy.

Laertes, previous to the commencement of the play, appears to have been in France. He is summoned thence to grace the nuptials of the usurper. As soon as the ceremony is over, he extorts leave of absence again from his father. Why he departs for France the second time, no adequate reason can be given. It has not the smallest bearing upon the plot—nor does it in the slightest degree advance the business of the piece. It is even uncertain whether he arrives at his place of destination. But he very conveniently returns quite unexpectedly, just at the moment when his presence was necessary to close the catastrophe.—There is, however, one purpose answered by this journey. It affords his garrulous father a very favourable opportunity, of which he gladly avails himself, to surfeit the audience with a profusion of verbiage, and to give a long bead-roll of foolish and absurd instructions respecting him to Reynaldo.

" Marry, sir, here's my drift:
And, I believe, it is a fetch of warrant.
You laying these slight sullies on my son,
As 'twere a thing a little soiled in the working.
Mark you, your party in converse, him you would sound,
Having ever seen in the prenominate crimes,
The youth you breathe of guilty, be assured,
He closes with with you in this consequence.
Ay, marry
He closes with you thus;—I know the gentleman;
I saw him yesterday, or t'other day—
Or then, or then; with such or such: and, as you say,
There was he gaming; there o'ertook in his rouse;
There falling out at tennis:—or perchance
I saw him enter such a house of sale,
(Videlicet, a brothel) or so forth. See you now,
Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth,
And thus do we of wisdom and of reach,
With windlasses and essays of bias,
By indirections find directions out,
So by my former lecture and advice
Shall you my son. You have me?—have you not?"

Here are as many words employed, with a show of profound wisdom and shrewdness to express a few frivolous ideas, as ever were collected for such a purpose.

With due deference to the admirers of Shakspeare, I presume to think, there is not to be found in any of the English stock plays, a scene more wholly irrelevant or more totally useless than the preparation for this voyage. It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged that besides the purpose already stated, it aids very conveniently to eke out the tragedy to the usual length of such performances.

The circumstances that are employed to produce the catastrophe, are still more exceptionable. They are to the last degree injudicious. A trial of skill at fencing is proposed, and Laertes uses an unbated foil, in order to have an opportunity of assassinating Hamlet. Now in the name of common sense, is not this a total violation of that *vrai-semblance*, which is the very essence of every correct dramatic production? Is it at all probable that an artful, unprincipled miscreant, such as Claudius is represented, would have hazarded the consequences of so barefaced an attempt, before so large a concourse of people, solely occupied in attending to every, even the slightest movement of the combatants? Could such a clumsy contrivance have failed to attract their attention? In the event of

Hamlet's being wounded—more especially if the wound were mortal—would not the courtiers have immediately investigated the affair, and detected the whole plan of the murder? Claudius's throne tottered under him at the time; and this event could not, as he must have easily foreseen, fail to lay it in the dust. Great as were the baseness and turpitude of the act, its folly and insanity are still more prominent features.

These observations apply to the original plan of Claudius.—Let us now consider the *improvement* made upon it by Laertes, who in all the preceding part of the piece, appears both noble and dignified, with honest views and a high spirit. On this occasion he suddenly—and in violation of Horace's rule—*qualis ab incepto*—changes his character totally. To the wickedness of using an unbated foil, he adds a still higher degree of infamy. He anoints his sword with a poisonous unction; bought

> "Of a mountebank,
> So mortal, that, but dip a knife in it
> Where it draws blood, no cataplasm so rare,
> Collected from all simples that have virtue
> Under the moon, can save the thing from death,
> That is but scratch'd withal. I'll touch my point
> With this contagion; that, if I gall him slightly,
> It may be death."

This transcendent baseness must excite horror in every candid mind.

"To make assurance doubly sure," Claudius prepares a poisoned bowl,

> "A chalice for the nonce; whereon but sipping,
> If he by chance escape your venom'd stuck,
> Our purpose may hold there."

These are undoubtedly most admirable contrivances. It would appear that this duumvirate of assassins were fearful that their "bloody deeds of horror" would not have sufficient publicity, if they proceeded in the beaten track of poisoners in general, who choose scenes of solitude and silence for the perpetration of their crimes. These heroic souls scorn concealment. They prepare their instruments of death in the glare of day, and in the presence of countless witnesses. This might answer very well in a fairy tale, or in one of Lewis's Tales of Terror. But in a dramatic piece, intended

"As 'twere to hold the mirror up to nature, and show the very age and body of the time his form and pressure,"

it is in contradiction to every rule of probability. No spectator or reader can by any force of imagination persuade himself that such an event could have ever occurred.

I proceed to submit a few remarks on the pretended madness of Hamlet, which the critics admit to have been assumed to no purpose. They add, that the objects of the poet could not only have been as completely attained without this contrivance*—but that its obvious tendency was to embarrass Hamlet in the prosecution of his designs.

These are undoubtedly strong objections. And their cogency is very considerably enhanced by the reflection, that they are absolutely extorted from those who, in the true spirit of *commentatorism*, (will the reader pardon the coinage of a new word?) appear to have regarded it as an imperious duty to extenuate every defect, and to magnify and elevate every beauty of the object of their labours. For it requires but a superficial acquaintance with the productions of editorial critics in general, to be satisfied, that this is the course they almost invariably pursue. It is not difficult to account satisfactorily for this procedure. They are sometimes heated by an overweening zeal—and at others, blinded by prejudice. And it not unfrequently happens that they are influenced by much less pardonable motives—by those of a sinister and disingenuous description. By blazoning forth the transcendent merits of the author, to the elucidation of whose works they devote their time and attention, they expect to increase their own fame, as well as those profits, the hopes whereof impel them to the undertaking. Instances have occurred, and not very rarely, wherein the three motives have conspired together to warp the judgment, and to produce an incorrect verdict.

The objections to the madness of Hamlet, which I have quoted, would have applied with perfect justice, and been absolutely unanswerable, even had he preserved an uniform tenor of conduct—had he not most inconsistently and unaccountably given reason to doubt the reality of his insanity. But they derive vast additional force from the reflection, that in most parts of his conduct he absolutely laid aside the mask he had assumed.

* "Of the feigned madness of Hamlet, there appears no adequate cause; for he does nothing which he might not have done with the reputation of sanity. He plays the madman most, when he treats Ophelia with so much rudeness, which seems to be useless and wanton cruelty."—JOHNSON.

During the continuance of his pretended madness, his intercourse is principally confined to his friends, Horatio and Marcellus—the queen—the players—Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—and to Polonius and Ophelia. Let us consider how he conducted himself towards these different personages individually.

To Horatio and Marcellus he has given ample reason to suspect his intention of simulating madness. As they of course were in his secret, it was not necessary to make any attempt to deceive them. His conversation with them is therefore lucid and perfectly rational, except in one instance, after the dismissal of the mock players—

Ham. Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me), with two Provencial roses on my rayed shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

Hor. Half a share.

Ham. A whole one, I.

For thou dost know, O Damon dear,
This realm dismantled was
Of Jove himself; and now reigns here
A very, very—Peacock.

Hor. You might have rhym'd.

Ham. O good Horatio, I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pound.—Didst perceive?

Hor. Very well, my lord.

Ham. Upon the talk of the poisoning?—

Hor. I did very well note him.

Ham. Ah, ah!—Come, some music, come, the recorders—

For if the king like not the comedy,
Why then, belike, he likes it not, perdy.

In the rant here quoted, there is as much appearance of insanity, or of a most preposterous and misplaced levity, as is to be found in any part of the tragedy. That this rhapsody does not comport with the actual situation of Hamlet, is self-evident. All his suspicions and doubts of the murder of his father, and the guilt of his uncle, were just converted into certainty. His convictions were strong and immovable. He was in company with the only two confidential friends he appears to have had; to whom he might naturally enough be expected to unbosom himself, and whom it would be proper to consult on the steps requisite to be pursued in such an awful crisis of his fate.

But instead of adopting this dignified course, he concludes his discourse with the sagacious observation—

> For if the king likes not the comedy,
> Why then, belike, he likes it not, perdy.

The king believed Hamlet to be really mad: and he very *wisely* sent for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to endeavour to discover from him the cause of his madness! It required no small portion of insanity to suppose that a man actually in that state could know his situation, or, if he did, that he would discover the cause of his misfortune. A leading feature of madness is a confidence of our own superior abilities, and a belief of the imbecility of others. However, dismissing this consideration, let us examine the conduct of Hamlet in his interview with these courtiers.

He had previously taken very considerable pains to impress the world with a persuasion of his madness, but appears to have abandoned his scheme, precisely at a time when, and in company of those persons with whom, it was highly essential to continue to support the character he had assumed. In some parts of his discourse with the courtiers, there is, it is true, a slight tincture of absence or flightiness; but nothing that could in any degree deserve to be styled madness:—

Ham. What news?

Ros. None, my lord; but that the world's grown honest.

Ham. Then is doomsday near; but your news is not true. Let me question more in particular: what have you, my good friends, deserved at the hands of fortune, that she sends you to prison hither?

Guil. Prison, my lord!

Ham. Denmark's a prison.

Ros. Then is the world one.

Ham. A goodly one; in which there are many confines, wards, and dungeons; Denmark being one of the worst.

Ros. We think not so, my lord.

Ham. Why, then 'tis none to you; for there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so; to me it is a prison.

Ros. Why, then your ambition makes it one; 'tis too narrow for your mind.

Ham. O God! I could be bounded in a nutshell, and count myself a king of infinite space, were it not that I have bad dreams.

Guil. Which dreams, indeed, are ambition; for the very substance of the ambitious is merely the shadow of a dream.

Ham. A dream itself is but a shadow.

Ros. Truly, and I hold ambition of so airy and light a quality, that it is but a shadow's shadow.

Ham. Then are our beggars, bodies; and our monarchs, and outstretch'd heroes, the beggars' shadows. Shall we to the court? for, by my fay, I cannot reason.

This is very far remote from madness, and merely denotes a perturbed mind. In another part of his conversation with these courtiers, Hamlet launches out into the most profound and sublime reflections.

Ham. I have of late (but, wherefore, I know not), lost all my mirth, forgone all custom of exercises: and, indeed, it goes so heavily with my disposition, that this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why it appears no other thing to me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form, and moving, how express and admirable! In action, how like an angel! In apprehension, how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals?—And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust? Man delights not me,—nor woman neither; though, by your smiling you seem to say so.

If Hamlet takes no pains to appear deranged, Rosencrantz and his associate equally lose sight of their object. They make no effort to ascertain what is the cause of the distraction, or melancholy of the prince. They were therefore summoned to the scene of action to very little purpose.

In his interview with the players, Hamlet likewise makes not the slightest pretence to derangement. Every sentence he addresses to them is perfectly lucid and correct; and displays a consummate knowledge of the subject on which he treats. He descants on the duties of their profession as elaborately, and inculcates on them as sound instruction, as if he had taken out his degrees in a theatrical university.

Ham. Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounce it to you, trippingly on the tongue: but if you mouth it, as many of our players do, I had as lieve the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus; but use all gently: for in the very torrent, tempest, and (as I may say) whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul, to hear a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings; who, for the most part, are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb shows, and noise: I would have such a fellow whipp'd for o'erdoing Termagant; it out-herods Herod: pray you, avoid it.——Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor; suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature: for any thing so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first, and now, was, and is, to hold

as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. Now, this, overdone, or come tardy off, though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve; the censure of which one, must, in your allowance, o'erweigh a whole theatre of others. O, there be players, that I have seen play,—and heard others praise, and that highly,—not to speak it profanely, that, neither having the accent of christians, nor the gait of christian, pagan nor man, have so strutted, and bellow'd, that I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably.

He moreover recites, *memoriter*, a long and intricate passage from an old play, on the catastrophe of Priam when he fell into the hands of the bloody and inexorable Pyrrhus. In the whole, therefore, of his proceedings with the players there appears not the most distant semblance of madness.

This deportment must be allowed to have been in direct hostility with the plan he had formed, and to have betrayed extreme inconsistency.

But the case of the queen is still more striking and forcible than that of all the rest of the dramatis personæ. As Hamlet's principal object must have been to deceive the king, it was highly essential for that purpose to keep the queen in ignorance of the real state of his mind, and of his views. But in the whole of the extended dialogue with her, every pretence of madness is discarded. Every line teems with wholesome, sound advice, perfectly suited to her situation. Neither Sherlock, nor Tillotson, nor Massillon, could have argued with more intelligence, acuteness, or conviction. Indeed, he not only does not affect madness, but he most explicitly disclaims all pretence to it, and most earnestly labours to convince his mother of the perfect sanity of his mind.

Ham. Ecstasy!
My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music: it is not madness
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test,
And I the matter will re-word; which madness
Would gambol from. Mother, for love of grace,
Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
That not your trespass, but my madness, speaks;—
It will but skin and film the ulcerous place;
Whilst rank corruption, mining all within,
Infects unseen. Confess yourself to heaven;
Repent what's past; avoid what is to come;
And do not spread the compost on the weeds,

To make them ranker. Forgive me this, my virtue:
For, in the fatness of these pursy times,
Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg;
Yea, curb, and woo, for leave to do him good.

This was most completely tearing off the mask, and totally abandoning an awkward contrivance, by no means calculated, under the very best management, to answer the purpose he had in view. It was morally certain, that she would directly reveal the communication to the king, whose guilty conscience would suggest means of freeing himself from the danger of his situation.

But Hamlet's imprudence carries him a step further. He has, in some manner that does not appear in the tragedy, discovered the plot laid for his destruction in England, and reveals this knowledge to the queen, thus inexpressibly increasing the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and still further awakening the jealousy of his enemies.

Ham. I must to England; you know that?
Queen. Alack, I had forgot; 'tis so concluded on.
Ham. There's letters seal'd: and my two school-fellows,—
Whom I will trust, as I will adders fang'd,—
They bear the mandate, they must sweep my way,
And marshal me to knavery. Let it work;
For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
Hoist with his own petar: and it shall go hard,
But I will delve one yard below their mines,
And blow them at the moon;—O, 'tis most sweet,
When in one line two crafts directly meet!

It is not easy to define exactly the character of mind displayed in the treatment of Polonius by Hamlet. Pure madness it certainly is not. There is, it must be confessed, occasionally a tincture of a certain something, that wears the semblance of derangement. But the most predominant features are, a puny attempt at wit, and a rude and indelicate kind of sarcasm, from which the age and rank of Polonius ought to have protected him. Had it been intended to impose on him an idea that the prince was really insane, the course pursued was very far, indeed, from bearing strong marks of sagacity.

Ham. My lord, you play'd once i' the university, you say?
Pol. That I did, my lord: and was accounted a good actor.
Ham. And what did you enact?

Pol. I did enact Julius Cæsar: *I* was kill'd in the *capitol;—Brutus* kill'd me.

Ham. It was a *brute* part of him to kill so *capital* a calf there.—Be the players ready?

This has been regarded by some as witty. But by every correct mind it must be regarded as a miserable attempt at punning, combined with a wanton attack on the feelings of a man incapable of resenting the injury.

Again, on another occasion:

Pol. What do you read, my lord!

Ham. Words, words, words!

Pol. What is the matter, my lord?

Ham. Between who?

Pol. I mean the matter that you read, my lord.

Ham. Slanders, sir: for the satirical rogue says here, that old men have gray beards; that their faces are wrinkled; their eyes purging thick amber, and plum-tree gum; and that they have a plentiful lack of wit, together with most weak hams: all which, sir, though I most powerfully and potently believe, yet I hold it not honesty to have it thus set down; for yourself, sir, shall be as old as I am, if, like a crab, you could go backward.

This procedure was not, as I have already stated, calculated to carry on the deception which Hamlet had begun. But even admitting for a moment that it had been, how can it be reconciled to a good heart—a clear head—or to the excellent character lavished on Hamlet by the critics generally? He was, by his elevated rank, protected from the resentment or vengeance of those whom he injured or insulted. Was it then decent—was it decorous—nay, was it not dishonourable, for a person thus intrenched by "the sanctity of high dignity," to offer outrage to the feelings of a man, and more particularly of one in the wane of life, whose age, as far as we can infer from the drama, was his only offence? This circumstance, of itself, would have secured him kindness and attention from any magnanimous mind, far from exposing him to the keen and biting jeers and sarcasms which he uniformly experienced whenever he encountered a prince who is preposterously styled

> "The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
> The glass of fashion, and the mould of form."

I come now to the conduct of Hamlet to Ophelia. To do justice to the subject, it is necessary to bear constantly in mind the relative situation of the parties. The one was a prince,

the other a lady of high rank, of the most unblemished reputation, and of such exquisite sensibility that she was easily driven to madness. She loved him to distraction; and, after she had been hurried to a premature grave, probably by his conduct, he professed to have most ardently loved her:

> "Forty thousand brothers
> Could not, with all their quantity of love,
> Make up my sum."

There is more appearance of madness in his deportment towards her, than can be extracted from all the rest of the tragedy together. It is, however, more visible in her description of his conduct than in any thing that passes before the audience:

> *Oph.* My lord, as I was sewing in my closet,
> Lord Hamlet,—with his doublet all unbrac'd;
> No hat upon his head, his stockings foul'd,
> Ungarter'd and down-gyved to his ancle;
> Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other;
> And with a look, so piteous in purport,
> As if he had been loosed out of hell,
> To speak of horrors,—he comes before me.
> *Pol.* Mad for thy love?
> *Oph.* My lord, I do not know;
> But, truly, I do fear it.
> *Pol.* What said he?
> *Oph.* He took me by the wrist, and held me hard:
> Then goes he to the length of all his arm;
> And, with his other hand thus o'er his brow,
> He falls to such perusal of my face,
> As he would draw it. Long staid he so;
> At last a little shaking of mine arm,
> And thrice his head thus waving up and down,
> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound,
> As it did seem to shatter all his bulk,
> And end his being: that done, he lets me go,
> And with his head over his shoulder turn'd,
> He seem'd to find his way without his eyes;
> For out o' doors he went, without their helps,
> And, to the last, bended their light on me.

In this detail, there appears a complete simulation of madness, and nothing that detracts from the respect due to the lady, or that commits either the head or the heart of Hamlet.

His conversation with her, as it takes place on the stage, is broken, disjointed, and irregular; occasionally, and not unfrequently, disgraced by the grossest indecency. The dialogue

between them, previous to the commencement of the mock tragedy, contains some allusions, almost as licentious as are to be found in any drama written by Farquhar, Congreve, or Wycherley. It is better adapted to the tenant of a stew, addressing one of the votaries of the Cyprian deity, than to a prince addressing a court belle.

What would be the consequence, were any man, even in the middle walks of life, at present, to address a female of his own rank, in a large circle, in such an indecent style? The good sense of the gentlemen present would rise up in judgment against him, and he would inevitably be expelled the company with disgrace—perhaps with chastisement.

For the obscene allusions and expressions used by Hamlet to Ophelia, I must refer the reader to the drama itself, *as originally penned*. I dare not quote them here. But of the rudeness and want of feeling manifested in his treatment of her, I submit a few specimens:

Ham. Ha, ha! are you honest?

Oph. My lord!

Ham. Are you fair?

Oph. What means your lordship?

Ham. That, if you be honest, and fair, you should admit no discourse to your beauty.

Oph. Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?

Ham. Ay, truly; for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd, than the force of honesty can translate beauty into its likeness: this was some time a paradox, but now the time gives it proof.

Again—

Ham. Get thee to a nunnery; why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners? I am myself indifferent honest; but yet I could accuse me of such things, that it were better, my mother had not borne me. I am very proud, revengeful, ambitious; with more offences at my beck, than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give them shape, or time to act them in.—What should such fellows as I do crawling between earth and heaven? We are arrant knaves, all, believe none of us. Go thy ways to a nunnery.—Where's your father?

Oph. At home, my lord.

Ham. Let the doors be shut upon him; that he may play the fool no where but in's own house. Farewell.

Once more—

Ham. I have heard of your paintings too, well enough. God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another; you jig, you amble, and you lisp, and nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ig-

rance: Go to; I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad. I say, we will have no more marriages: those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are.

To conclude—

Ham. We shall know by this fellow; the players cannot keep counsel; they'll tell all.

Oph. Will he tell us what this show meant?

Ham. Ay, or any show that you'll show him; be not you asham'd to show, he'll not shame to tell you what it means.

To extenuate this indecorous conduct, it will be said, as it has been already, that this deportment was proper and necessary to support the character of madness assumed by Hamlet. This is an error. There were numberless modes of effecting that object; all of them at least as likely to succeed, and as rational, as the very exceptionable one adopted. And were this the only practicable scheme, decency or delicacy would have forbade a recurrence to it. I lay but little stress on the circumstance, that the futility of this extenuation is unanswerably proved by the abandonment of all pretences to madness in so many cases as I have cited.

To palliate the coarseness and obscenity of Hamlet's discourse to Ophelia, we are gravely informed, that various forms of expression which modern delicacy or fastidiousness proscribes, were "in the days of yore," regarded as innocent and unexceptionable; and that it is, therefore injustice in the extreme to try ancient writing by modern rules. To a certain extent, this plea is just. But I am fully persuaded, that there never was a period in civilized society, in which it was regarded as decorous or proper for a gentleman to use obscenity or rudeness in his discourse with a lady.

I proceed to offer some further remarks on the character of Hamlet, and to consider whether he is in any degree entitled to the high encomiums, which some of the commentators, particularly Richardson, in his Analysis, have lavished upon him.

On a review of the whole drama, there cannot be discovered a single trait of conduct, calculated to excite respect for the qualities of his head, or esteem for those of his heart—nothing that becomes the hero of a drama.

He in various instances proves himself devoid of truth, justice, honour, and courage—those sterling qualities, the want of any one of which sinks, in public estimation, the character of

him who labours under the deficiency. What a hideous object must he be, who is deficient in the whole.

That Hamlet had no pretensions to courage is apparent in almost every scene of the play wherein he appears. But it may be replied that a mere want of courage is much more a misfortune, than a crime—more calculated to excite pity, than any other sentiment. While a free assent is given to this observation, it cannot be denied, that when a man covers a radical and incurable cowardice, under the most bombastic threats —when he excites himself to the most violent rage, and is constantly vowing vengeance, without the slightest effort to carry his threats into execution, he loses all claim to pity, and becomes an object of contempt.

That this is the conduct of Hamlet, a slight examination of the drama will evince. Never did Achilles vent his rage in stronger terms, or more solemnly pledge himself to be avenged of Agamemnon, than the prince of Denmark does to be avenged of his uncle. It might be supposed that myriads of embattled heroes would not appal him, or make him hesitate in the accomplishment of this grand object.

> "Oh from this time forth,
> My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth."
> "Haste me to know it; that I with wings as swift
> As meditation, or the thoughts of love,
> May sweep to my revenge."

Further:

> "Now is the very witching time of night.
> 'Tis now the church-yards yawn—and hell itself breathes out
> Contagion to this world. *Now could I drink hot blood—*
> *And do such business as the bitter day*
> *Would quake to look on.*"

Again:

> "*Ham.* O, all you host of heaven! O earth! What else?
> And shall I couple hell?—O fie!—Hold, hold, my heart;
> And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
> But bear me stiffly up!"

All these sounding threats evaporate into thin air. They are all "sound and fury," totally without meaning, or producing any effect. But, however deficient he may be in courage, he makes ample amends by billingsgate and abuse—he can bellow, and rage and scold, with as much virulence and as much grace,

as any of the chaste and refined inhabitants of Billingsgate or St. Giles's.

"Bloody, bawdy villain!
Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain!"

A person unacquainted with the denouement of the tragedy, would, in reading the first, second and third acts, anticipate some magnanimous effort to avenge the wickedness of the usurper—something that would be worthy of a hero. The circumstances of the case, the solemn injunctions of the ghost, as well as the reiterated pledges of Hamlet, afford strong ground for such a surmise. Hamlet's father had been most basely murdered. He himself had been defrauded of his inheritance: and a base and sanguinary usurper had been foisted upon the Danes, in place of their lawful monarch. He that would not be incited by these circumstances to "deeds of pith and daring" would be

"Duller than the fat weed,
That rots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf."

And yet there is not a single attempt made throughout the whole drama, to accomplish the object he appeared to have in view.

There were two obvious modes of proceeding. One, boldly to raise an army, and hurl the usurper from the throne, or nobly to perish in the attempt. The other, to have recourse to the stiletto, or to poison.

The first would have been the natural resort of a noble, magnanimous mind. It would have become the hero of a drama, and excited the reverence of an audience. It would have placed Hamlet on a level with Alfred, Gustavus Vasa, William Wallace, or William Tell.

But this dignified and magnanimous course never entered into the mind of Hamlet. He never dared to lisp a word respecting it. His groveling soul brooded over the stiletto, as the instrument of his vengeance. Yet when an opportunity offered of availing himself of this cowardly mode of accomplishing his purpose, his courage failed, and he shrunk from the attempt, not from any

"Compunctious visitings of conscience"—

No such scruple darts across his mind. He is withheld solely by his fears.—It is true, he assigns a different reason, on which I shall offer some remarks in the sequel.

Hamlet sees and acknowledges the baseness of his own character:

"That I the son of a dear father now dead,
Prompted to revenge, by heaven and hell,
Must, like a whore, unpack my heart with words,
And fall a cursing, like a very drab,
A scullion!"

And further,

"How stand I then,
That have a father kill'd, a mother stain'd,
Excitements of my reason and my blood,
And let all sleep?"
"I, a dull and muddy-mettled rascal, peak,
Like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of my cause,
And can say nothing—no, not for a king,
Upon whose property and most dear life,
A damn'd defeat was made."

The ghost had used every exhortation to excite him to vengeance.

"Thus was I, sleeping, by a brother's hand,
Of life, of crown, of queen, at once despatch'd:
Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,
Unhousell'd, disappointed, unaneal'd;
No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head:
O horrible! O horrible! most horrible!
If thou hast nature in thee, bear it not;
Let not the royal bed of Denmark be
A couch for luxury and damned incest."

Again:

"*Ham.* Do you not come your tardy son to chide,
That, laps'd in time and passion, lets go by
The important acting of your dread command?
O, say!
Ghost. Do not forget. This visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose."

It was all in vain. Into the heart, wherein nature has planted cowardice, reason can never infuse courage. But when Polonius was behind the arras, Hamlet, supposing it was his uncle, thought he had a safe opportunity of sating his vengeance, without endangering his person, and availed himself of it with avidity.

To crown the whole, he allows himself to be forced or decoyed on board ship, knowing that his murder in England is ordered by his uncle: thus, after all his ranting and vapouring,

abandoning, forever, all chance of vengeance, but for his truly miraculous adventure of finding himself on board the pirate vessel.

On this trait of Hamlet's character it is needless to add another word. The man who denies that Hamlet was devoid of even a spark of courage, would be deaf to any further argument that might be adduced upon the subject, even "*were one to rise from the dead.*"

Of the virtue of truth, Hamlet displays a total destitution. It appears in various passages. I shall cite only two.

"*Ros.* Good my lord, what is your cause of distemper? You do, surely, bar the door upon your own liberty, if you deny your griefs to your friend.
Ham. Sir, I lack advancement."

This was an arrant falsehood. The perturbation of Hamlet's mind arose, not in the slightest degree from "lack of advancement," and it was a most unworthy subterfuge to assign for it a reason utterly destitute of foundation.

Again:

"*Ham.* Give me your pardon, sir: I have done you wrong
But pardon it as you are a gentleman.
This presence knows, and you must needs have heard,
How I am punish'd with a sore distraction.
What I have done,
That might your nature, honour and exception,
Roughly awake, I here proclaim was madness.
Was't Hamlet wrong'd Laertes? Never, Hamlet:
If Hamlet from himself be ta'en away,
And, when he's not himself, does wrong Laertes,
Then Hamlet does it not. Hamlet denies it.
Who does it then? *His madness:* If't be so,
Hamlet is of a faction that is wrong'd;
His madness is poor Hamlet's enemy."

This is inexpressibly base. At the interment of the lovely Ophelia, he had been guilty of a beargarden outrage, and grossly insulted and assaulted Laertes; and to apologize for the indecency, he ascribes it to madness, which he had merely counterfeited.

There is one incident in the drama, wherein Hamlet displays such depravity, that even Johnson, however zealous on all occasions to gloss over defects, and to magnify beauties, consigns him to unqualified reprobation.

We have seen that Hamlet was totally incapable of aspiring to, or attempting to execute, vengeance in any mode that sa-

voured of courage or heroism. He was incapable of soaring beyond assassination. He was on the *qui vive* for an opportunity to perpetrate this crime. A favourable one offers. He finds his uncle alone, who, stung with remorse for his crimes, is on his knees supplicating heaven for forgiveness. Hamlet is on the point of executing his baleful design. But fearful that he shall only destroy the body—and desirous of entailing perdition upon the soul, he desists, in order to take some other chance of accomplishing his fell purpose completely! But let him detail his own reasons—

Ham. Now might I do it, pat, now he is praying,
And now I'll do't;—And so he goes to heaven:
And so am I reveng'd? that would be scann'd:
A villain kills my father: and, for that,
I, his sole son, do this same villain send
To heaven.
Why, this is hire and salary, not revenge.
He took my father grossly, full of bread;
With all his crimes broad-blown, as flush as May;
And, how his audit stands, who knows, save heaven?
But in our circumstance and course of thought,
'Tis heavy with him: Am I then reveng'd,
To take him in the purging of his soul,
When he is fit, and season'd for his passage?
No.——
Up, sword, and know thou a more horrid hent
When he is drunk, asleep, or in his rage;
Or in the incestuous pleasures of his bed—
At gaming, swearing, or about some act
That has no relish of salvation in't;
Then trip him, that *his heels may kick at heav'n,*
And that his soul may be as damn'd and black,
As hell, whereto it goes."

In the widest range of history there can be no single incident found more revolting than this. The foulest monsters that have scourged mankind, hardly ever thought of carrying their vengeance beyond the limits of this world, and giving up their victims to perdition, with "their souls as damn'd and black as hell."

The most odious point of view in which Hamlet exhibits himself is on board ship. Here he perpetrates three crimes, any one of which would in most civilized countries have insured him an ignominious death.

He rises under the cover of darkness, like a midnight robber, and steals the despatches of the King's messengers.

"Up from my cabin,
My sea gown scarfed about me, in the dark
Grop'd I to find out them; had my desire;
Finger'd their packet; and, in fine, withdrew
To mine own room again."

He furtively breaks them open—

"Making so bold,
My fears forgetting manners, to unseal
Their grand commission; where I found, Horatio,
A royal knavery—an exact command—
Larded with many several sorts of reasons,
Importing Denmark's health and England's too,
With, ho! such bugs and goblins in my life,
That on the supervise, no leisure bated,
No, not to stay the grinding of the axe
My head should be struck off."

After this grand exploit, he adds to robbery, forgery, and writes a new set of instructions, and an order to murder the wretched messengers, whose only fault is their puppyism and foppery.

"Being thus benetted round with villanies
Ere I could make a prologue to my brains,
They had begun the play. I sat me down;
Devis'd a new commission; wrote it fair;
I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair; and labour'd much
How to forget that learning. But, sir, now
It did me yeoman's service . . . . . I wrote
An earnest conjuration from the king,
As England was his faithful tributary—
As love between them, like the palm, might flourish,
As peace should still her wheaten garland wear,
And stand a comma 'tween their amities,
And many such like as's of great charge,
That on the view and knowing of these contents,
Without debatement further, more or less,
He should the bearers put to death,
Not shriving time allow'd."

Thus he completes his career by downright murder. The old maxim, *qui facit per alium, facit per se*, is too well known to require any proof that Hamlet is the murderer of the two courtiers. And this heinous crime, perpetrated in cold blood, and with no adequate provocation to extenuate, far less justify it, he appears to regard as almost meritorious—at least it excites, after a lapse of time, no remorse of conscience. He recounts the story to Horatio on his return, not merely with sang froid, but even boastingly—

"*Hor.* So Guildenstern and Rozencrantz go to't.
Ham. Why, man, they did make love to this employment:
They are not near my conscience; their defect
Doth by their own insinuation grow:
'Tis dangerous, when the baser nature comes
Between the pass and fell incensed points
Of mighty opposites."

I trust enough has been shown to prove that

" The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
The observ'd of all observers,"

is a poor drivelling creature, incapable of any great purpose—and that the plot is to the last degree incoherent, and displays a total want of elaboration.

From what is here advanced, the reader is left to decide whether Hamlet was the worthless character I have represented him to be—or whether he is justly described by the celebrated Richardson, who asserts that "A sense of virtue seems to be his ruling principle. In other men it may appear with the ensigns of high authority. In Hamlet, it possesses absolute power. United with amiable affections, with every graceful accomplishment, and every agreeable quality, it embellishes and exalts them."—"The acquisitions that Hamlet values, and the happiness he would confer, are *a conscience void of offence*, the peace and the honour of virtue."—He is further described as endowed "with purity of moral sentiment—with eminent abilities, exceedingly cultivated and improved—with manners the most elegant and becoming—*with the utmost rectitude of intention—and the most active zeal in the exercise of every duty!*"

Light and darkness—truth and falsehood are not more opposite to each other, than this portrait is to that of Hamlet.

I am well aware how heretical those opinions will appear, and how presumptuous and audacious he will be regarded who hazards them, in opposition to the encomiastic criticisms lavished on this tragedy. But I fondly hope that few persons who judge for themselves, will hesitate to admit that a character, drawn as that of Hamlet is, would scarcely be admitted on the stage at the present day. *Mirror of Taste, vol. ii. p.* 306, *and vol. iv. p.* 43, *and p.* 385. *Nov.* 1811.

N. B.—To judge correctly of this critique, it is necessary to examine an authentic copy of Hamlet, as the common editions are greatly mutilated.

Nov. 30, 1811.

RULES FOR HUSBANDS AND WIVES.

Having seen various sets of maxims for the conduct of married life, which have appeared to me to contain some very injudicious items, degrading to wives, sinking them below the rank they ought to occupy, and reducing them in some degree to the level of mere housekeepers, and believing them radically erroneous, I annex a set which appear more rational and just than most of those which I have seen:

1. A good husband will always regard his wife as his equal; treat her with kindness, respect and attention; and never address her with an air of authority, as if she were, as some husbands appear to regard their wives, a mere housekeeper.

2. He will never interfere in her domestic concerns, hiring servants, &c.

3. He will always keep her liberally supplied with money for furnishing his table in a style proportioned to his means, and for the purchase of dress suitable to her station in life.

4. He will cheerfully and promptly comply with all her reasonable requests, when it can be done, without loss, or great inconvenience.

5. He will never allow himself to lose his temper towards her, by indifferent cookery, or irregularity in the hours of meals, or any other mismanagement of her servants, knowing the difficulty of making them do their duty.

6. If she have prudence and good sense, he will consult her on all great operations, involving the risque of ruin, or serious injury in case of failure. Many a man has been rescued from destruction by the wise counsels of his wife. Many a foolish husband has most seriously injured himself and family by the rejection of the advice of his wife, fearing, lest, if he followed it, he would be regarded as ruled by her! A husband can never procure a counsellor more deeply interested in his welfare than his wife.

7. If distressed, or embarrassed in his circumstances, he will communicate his situation to her with candour, that she may bear his difficulties in mind, in her expenditures. Women sometimes, believing their husband's circumstances to be far better than they really are, expend money which cannot well be afforded, and which, if they knew their real situation, they would shrink from expending.

1. A good wife will always receive her husband with smiles, —leave nothing undone to render home agreeable—and gratefully reciprocate his kindness and attention.

2. She will study to discover means to gratify his inclinations, in regard to food and cookery; in the management of her family; in her dress, manners and deportment.

3. She will never attempt to rule, or appear to rule her husband. Such conduct degrades husbands—and wives always partake largely of the degradation of their husbands.

4. She will, in every thing reasonable, comply with his wishes—and, as far as possible, anticipate them.

5. She will avoid all altercations or arguments leading to ill-humour—and more especially before company.

6. She will never attempt to interfere in his business, unless he ask her advice or counsel, and will never attempt to control him in the management of it.

Should differences arise between husband and wife, the contest ought to be, not who will display the most spirit, but who will make the first advances. There is scarcely a more prolific source of unhappiness in the married state, than this "*spirit*," the legitimate offspring of pride and want of feeling.

Perhaps the whole art of happiness in the married state, might be compressed into these two maxims—"Bear and forbear"—and "let the husband treat his wife, and the wife treat her husband with as much respect and attention, as he would a strange lady, and she a strange gentleman." And surely this is not an extravagant requisition.

A PROPHETICAL DREAM.*

From the Columbian Magazine, Oct. 1786, *page* 5.

I was highly pleased lately with a work styled "The Year 2500," in which the benevolent author pourtrays the situation which he hopes France will be in at that period, and shows, in

* The above is verbatim as originally published, with the exception of the cost and width of the Darien canal, of which the former was ludicrously small, and the latter immoderately extended, from my total ignorance of the canal subject at that period. I have omitted both. Some of the anticipations have been realized, and others doubtless will, before the limited time arrives.

a very striking point of view, the absurdity of many of the most favoured practices of the present day, in that kingdom. I felt myself strongly impressed with the idea, and threw myself on a couch, where I pursued the reflection as far as I was capable, extending my view to this country. After some time I fell asleep, and dreamed that I was transported to so distant a period as the year 1850; and that on entering a coffee house, I took up a newspaper and read some paragraphs of the following tenor, which struck me with surprise and pleasure.

Philadelphia, May, 1850. A letter received from Cadiz, dated the 10th of March, says,—"We have authentic accounts, that the American Admiral Beaunale, with 10 sail of the line, had a desperate engagement with a grand fleet of the Algerines, of 11 sail of the line, 6 frigates, and 4 gallies. Both fought with the utmost bravery—but two of the Algerine first-rate vessels being blown up, and a great havoc being made among the crews of the rest, three struck, and the remainder fled. The signal for chase was made, and three more captured,—the rest were driven on shore,—and, fire ships being sent among them, were all set in flames and consumed. The brave admiral immediately sailed to Algiers, which he bombarded with such vigour that all the fortifications on the side of the town towards the sea, were levelled, and the city almost entirely reduced to ashes. The Dey sent an ambassador to sue for peace, and was so terrified at the fate of the fleet, on which he had placed all his reliance, that he consented to surrender all the piratical vessels, which have so long infested the Mediterranean and even the Atlantic."

Richmond, April 30. By authentic advices from Kentucky, we are informed,—"that no less than 150 vessels have been built on the river Ohio, during the last year, and sent down that river and the Mississippi, laden with valuable produce, which has been carried to the West Indies, where the vessels and their cargoes have been disposed of to great advantage."

Boston, April 30. At length the canal across the isthmus of Darien is completed. It is about sixty miles long. First rate vessels of war can with ease sail through. Two vessels belonging to this port, two to Philadelphia, and one to New York, sailed through on the 20th of January last, bound for Canton, in China.

Columbia, May 1. Extract from the Journals of Congress. —"Ordered that there be twenty professors in the University

of Columbia, in this city; viz. of Divinity, of Church History, of Hebrew, of Greek, of Humanity, of Logic, of Moral Philosophy, of Natural Philosophy, of Mathematics, of Civil History, of Natural History, of Common and Civil Law, of the Law of Nature and Nations, of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, of Botany, of Materia Medica, of Physic, of Chemistry, of Anatomy, and of Midwifery.

Charleston, April 15. No less than 10,000 blacks have been transported from this state and Virginia, during the last two years to Africa, where they have formed a settlement near the mouth of the river Goree. Very few blacks remain in this country now: and we sincerely hope that in a few years every vestige of the infamous traffic carried on by our ancestors in the human species, will be done away.

Pittsburg, Jan. 15. The canal which is making from the river Ohio, to the Susquehanna, and thence to the Delaware, will be of immense advantage to the United States. If the same progress continues to be made hereafter as has been for some time past, it will be completed in less than two years.

Delegates from the thirtieth new state, laid off a few months since by order of Congress, lately arrived at Columbia; and on producing their credentials, were received into the Federal Council.

A splendid edition of the History of the Settlement and Increase of the European Colonies in America, in ten vols. folio, adorned with two hundred copper plates, has been just printed in this town.

The Agricultural Society of this town, have offered premiums to the amount of £1000, for the improvement of husbandry.

In the assembly of this state, it was lately ordered that the salaries of public school-masters shall hereafter be £200 per annum.

Ezekiel Jones was lately convicted of not sending his son to school, although five years old. The time ordered by law is at four years. He was sentenced to stand in a white sheet, three successive Sundays in his parish church.

Philadelphia, October 1, 1786.

REMARKS ON THE CHARGE OF PLAGIARISM ALLEGED AGAINST STERNE.

Was Sterne really a plagiarist?

Every thing sublunary is subject to revolution. The mightiest empires have their periods of youth, of manhood, of decrepitude, and final extinction. To this general law of nature, the world of literature is obliged to yield. The names of many authors, regarded by their cotemporaries as highly illustrious, are now consigned to oblivion, with the Baviuses and Mæviuses of Horace. They are prized no more by posterity, than if the persons they designated had never existed. Were this fate confined to writers of no merit, whose works deserved to fall "still-born from the press," it would excite no other emotion than satisfaction. But unfortunately this is by no means the case. Numberless works of very great merit and usefulness, published in the course of the last and preceding centuries, are now so very scarce as to be entirely unattainable, except in the libraries of the curious. This partly arises from the fickleness of public taste, and partly from the immense multitude of works, (some new, but most part hashed up of former obsolete productions) with which the world is constantly inundated. These modern works, attract the attention of the mass of readers, from those of ancient times.

To those whom the hope of reputation incites to "waste the midnight oil," and offer their lucubrations for the approbation and admiration, not merely of their cotemporaries, but of posterity, this holds out a most gloomy prospect. Could they divest themselves of the blind partiality which almost every man entertains for his own productions—were they capable of forming a fair and impartial comparison between them and some of those to which I have alluded, it would chill their ardour, and diminish their very sanguine expectations of immortality. But in vain is this monitory lesson delivered to ambitious authors. They press forward in pursuit of the "bubble reputation" with unabated zeal and only discover their mistake when it is too late. They "fret and fume upon the stage" with as much self-importance as if the instruction of the world absolutely depended upon the emanations of their wisdom. They mistake the meed of forced, or bought, or interested applause for immortal honour, and, with Ovid, imagine they have erected a monument

to their fame more durable than brass, which neither the thunders of Jupiter, nor fire, nor time, shall be able to destroy.

On a retrospection of those authors, on whose fame a few fleeting years have produced the most injurious effects, I know of none more remarkable than Sterne. This humorous, witty, pathetic, elegant, but licentious writer, was, during his life, and for a considerable period since his death, at the very pinnacle of celebrity. His writings were the standards of fashion. They were read with avidity and delight, as well in the "gorgeous palaces" of the great, as in the mud-walled huts of the sons and daughters of poverty. Few works, if any, were ever received with more unbounded applause, than the Sentimental Journey. Its circulation was immense. It produced a revolution in the public taste. No works carried so sure a passport to fame, and, what to many authors is of more importance, to "pelf and pudding," as those in the sentimental style, with which the literary world then actually swarmed.

To have calculated on probabilities, it might, at that period, have been fairly presumed, that this reputation could scarcely fail to be permanent, and would bid defiance to the united influence of malice, envy, and the fluctuation of public taste. The motto for the fame of Sterne might be aptly chosen—"ære perennius." But alas! all these calculations have disappeared, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," and left hardly "a trace behind." From the elevated niche which his bust occupied in the temple of Fame, it has been ignominiously hurled down, and he has now sunk, in the public estimation, into the disgraceful character of a petty thief, who, like the daw in the fable, decorated himself with borrowed plumage. He is regarded as a literary swindler, who has stolen a reputation to which his talents afforded him no claim. He is believed to have palmed upon the world as his own, writings, composed of fragments basely purloined from the most diversified range of writers, from Rabelais, down to Scarron, and Burton, the anatomist of Melancholy. Infinite pains have been bestowed, and numberless works been ransacked, to collect together analogous passages from various authors, and to deduce from them a full proof of barefaced literary piracy. What appears most remarkable is, that there have been found in old books several passages, not merely parallel, but absolutely verbatim, with some in Tristram Shandy, the Sentimental Journey, and the Sermons. So complete has been the success of the gen-

tlemen who have undertaken these investigations, that the accusations against Sterne have been universally regarded as completely and irrefragably proved. No defence, as far as I can learn, has ever been instituted by the admirers of the witty, but profane gownsman, and judgment has gone against him by default. The *audi alteram partem*, so wise and so equitable a rule in every case of controversy, has been in this instance wholly overlooked. The accusers of Sterne have had an easy triumph, and are generally considered as having rendered an essential service to the interests of literature by the detection of his daring imposture. The negligence and remissness of his cotemporaries, who suffered him to escape from disgrace with impunity, is as much a subject of astonishment, as his effrontery in purloining from old books, some of which were by no means scarce. We pride ourselves upon the superior sagacity and more unwearied industry of our age, which have so completely stripped the mask off this literary plunderer.

It is about eleven years since Dr. Ferriar, of Manchester, a gentleman of considerable talents and unwearied research, published his "Illustrations of Sterne," in which he made a most copious collection of the passages here referred to. This work has been universally esteemed as having ultimately decided the question, and incontestably established the guilt of the culprit. Although I freely acknowledge that the grounds of condemnation are plausible, yet not having been perfectly satisfied with the force of the evidence, I have not been able to subscribe the verdict. I believed from the first perusal of Ferriar's work, that Sterne was innocent. Nay more—I persuaded myself into the opinion, that in the very "Illustrations," notwithstanding their plausibility, there was abundant evidence, on a fair and candid examination, to repel the charge. Time, so far from having weakened my opinion on the subject, has fully and completely convinced me that Sterne has been treated with extreme injustice, and that he was innocent of the offence laid to his charge—an offence, of which, as I have observed, he is deemed most satisfactorily convicted. I have long proposed to myself to enter into a very full investigation of the subject, and to leave nothing unexamined that could shed light upon it. But

"Procrastination, that thief of time,"

and the pressure of private avocations have hitherto put a veto on my intention. And despairing of ever being able to execute

it upon the scale I proposed, I prefer undertaking it in the present slight and superficial manner, to the abandonment of it altogether. I shall barely touch the subject, and leave ample scope for those possessed of more talents, application, and leisure, to complete the defence of the author of Tristram Shandy.

In this investigation, I repose with less diffidence on my conclusions, from the circumstance, that how highly soever I admire most of Sterne's writings, the author is by no means a favourite with me. Were I as enthusiastic an admirer of him as some of my friends, I should not feel so confident in the opinions I have formed. From the obvious and pernicious effects of partiality and prejudice in misleading human judgment, I should be apprehensive I was led astray; and that I was blind to the impropriety of the conduct of the object of my veneration. But from all suspicion of this undue bias I trust I am wholly free. I reprobate the odious inconsistency between the station and some of the writings of Sterne. It is a revolting object to see a man, pledged by his functions to preach "pure morality," and "religion undefiled," so far offering violence to his sacred duties, as to sit down coolly and deliberately to present to his readers luscious pictures, calculated to excite impure desires, and to inflame a passion of whose awful violence every day exhibits terrible proofs—to degrade and prostitute talents, which, had they been employed to combine improvement with entertainment, would have entitled him to immortal fame. "What punishment" says Dr. Johnson, justly, "can be adequate to the crime of him who retires to solitude for the refinement of debauchery; who tortures his fancy, and ransacks his memory, only that he may leave the world less virtuous than he found it?" The charge here advanced against Sterne's writings will by many be deemed too severe. But that the tendency of a considerable portion of Tristram Shandy is of the description here alluded to, must be obvious to every reader of discernment, and even the Sentimental Journey is by no means free from the same objection. But the prostitution of his talents, how gross soever it was, has not the most remote connexion with the offence charged on him by Dr. Ferriar. His writings might have been as vile and infamous as those of Rochester or Cleveland, and he be, nevertheless, wholly unstained with the guilt of plagiarism.

Plagiarism is a frequent topic of conversation and of writing;

yet there are few subjects on which loose and erroneous notions so generally prevail. There are many readers so extremely fastidious, that whenever they find the slightest resemblance between two passages in two different writers, they immediately, without hesitation, tax the more recent one with having stolen from the other. This has been carried to the most extravagant length, particularly of late; and writers, whose works bear the strongest marks of the *mens divinior*, the fervid stamp of the most brilliant talents, have not escaped the charge of plagiarism, adduced against them by men, whose sole characteristics were a good memory and a plodding disposition. The pomposity with which these discoveries are announced to the public, is perfectly farcical.

In the "Illustrations," Dr. Ferriar relies upon two different kinds of proof. The one consists of a number of passages in Sterne, which bear a strong resemblance to passages to be found in Rabelais, Scarron, Bruscambille, D'Aubigné, Hall, Burton and others. The second is composed of passages, some of them very nearly, and others absolutely, verbatim in his works as they are to be found in books previously published. On the latter class he places his chief reliance. They form his grand phalanx. The others are only adduced as auxiliaries. To enable the reader to form a correct opinion on the subject, and to decide upon the guilt or innocence of Sterne, I shall, in the sequel, lay before him a few instances from Dr. Ferriar.

I readily admit that the doctor's quotations appear, *prima facie*, to afford evidence of the literary piracy of Sterne. Many intelligent persons, whom I have heard discourse upon the subject, have believed it highly absurd and preposterous to entertain the least doubt upon the validity of the accusation. They regard it as utterly impossible that these passages could have ever appeared in the writings of Sterne, in any other mode than by plagiarism. But it is no novelty for the same fact to afford to different minds diametrically opposite conclusions. This is precisely the case here. From the exact sameness in about a dozen of the striking instances, on which the author of the "Illustrations" places his chief reliance, principally arises my conviction of the innocence of Sterne. A little reflection will remove the paradoxical appearance of this position.

In every age and in every country contempt has been the fate

of the plagiarist. And in numberless instances the charge of plagiarism, even though but slightly supported, has injuriously affected the usefulness of a man's writings, and his reputation as an author. Indeed, I have known cases in controversies, both religious and political, in which it was considered as a *full* and complete refutation of a well-written performance, to assert that it was pilfered from some other writer.

The motives to write are—a desire to be useful—the pursuit of fame—or, a thirst for fortune. I can hardly conceive of any other. That Sterne's were probably the two last, will, I presume, be unhesitatingly admitted. Let us for a moment suppose that he was a plagiarist in the fullest sense of the word, can we reconcile it with reason, or common sense, or any of the inciting causes that operate upon mankind, that he should have exposed himself to so easy and palpable a detection as he must have been constantly liable to, had he made up his books of shreds and patches, meanly stolen from works, with most of which the literary world was familiar, and hardly any of which were so scarce as to afford a tolerable probability of escape? A detection would have annihilated all his hopes of reputation and all his chances of emolument. This consideration would undoubtedly have been sufficiently powerful to withhold him, however unprincipled he might have been.

The duke of Buckingham, for the purpose, it is said, of satirizing Dryden, introduced into the Rehearsal a complete plagiarist, whom he styled Bays. This literary pirate gives an account of all the details of his honourable profession, and candidly avows that he "beverses the prose, and beproses the verse," so adroitly, as to defy the recognition of the very authors with whom he takes these liberties. Those who are mean and base enough to plagiarise, will always pursue this or a similar plan. They will so totally change at least the form of expression, as to prevent detection. And surely a man must be as complete an idiot or lunatic as ever was entitled to a passport into Bedlam, who would pursue the wretched plan charged upon Sterne. I would as soon believe that an artful, loose woman, who was desirous of standing fair with the world, would, in the glare of day, and in the very presence of her most valued friends, march into a brothel with a notorious debauchee, as suppose that Sterne, even admitting his guilt to the fullest extent, would have copied verbatim what he had stolen.

Further. What are those passages said to be stolen? Do they bear such marks of sublimity or excellence, as could have induced Sterne to be guilty of theft for them? By no means. They are generally trite, and many of them not beyond the capacity of an author of very mediocre talents. Some are to the last degree trivial, and would hardly be noticed among the effusions of a ten years old child of precocious talents, by an old gossiping grandmother.

Some of the readers of these lucubrations have by this time become impatient, and are ready with peevishness to ask—Can you believe it possible, that two men shall write ten or twenty lines exactly alike, without any communication with each other? and if not, how can you account for the sameness stated by Ferriar? I hasten to reply, and hope to convince every candid reader that I have not lightly adopted the opinions I advocate.

Every man who has paid attention to the operations of the faculty of memory, must have observed, that when it is of a vigorous character, it so completely possesses itself of the objects submitted to it in reading, as to render it, in many cases, hardly possible, indeed often utterly impossible, at a remote period, to discriminate between sentiments, forms of expression, and images, thus acquired, and those which are the emanations of a man's own intellectual powers. Were it at all necessary, numberless instances might be produced, in support of this hypothesis. But I trust it is self-evident to every person of reflection. Still further. As the doctrine of innate ideas has been long and justly exploded, it is obvious that the great mass of our knowledge must be acquired, and principally from books. And therefore, when we write or converse, we must necessarily, and even to ourselves imperceptibly, derive a large portion of our lucubrations from others. On certain trite and common-place topics, we can lay claim to very little more as our own than the form and manner of expression. Two thousand years since, Terence pronounced the maxim, "*nil dictum quod non prius dictum.*" If this had even a remote semblance of truth in his era, how much more forcibly and justly does it apply at present?

Let us refer all this to the case of Sterne. His memory must have been very powerful; and his reading, in his early days, when that faculty was in its highest perfection, must have been various and highly miscellaneous. In this course of

reading, conformably with the eccentricity of his character, he must have read and been delighted with those comic and satirical writers, whose works he is now charged with having laid so heavily and so unfairly under contribution. "*Similis simili gaudet.*" They naturally made a strong and inextinguishable impression on his mind. No wonder, therefore, when at a subsequent period of his life, he began himself to write, that his productions should savour so highly of those works, with which his mind was so strongly imbued—no wonder that images, ideas, and forms of expression, so familiar to him, should be constantly obtruding themselves on him—no wonder, in fine, that even whole passages should be presented by his recollection, which he mistook for a tribute offered by his imagination.*

On a careful examination of some of the passages on which Dr. Ferriar places the greatest reliance, there is little in them to have induced any writer to plagiarise. Compared with his own acknowledged writings, which all the industry of the cri-

* I hope I shall be pardoned for stating a fact which sheds strong light on the theory of plagiarism. About forty years since, I was engaged in a most acrimonious controversy, that led to a duel which endangered my life. My last reply concluded with these words—"I now have done with Col. ———." A friend, to whom I read it, told me he had known persons, who had made similar declarations, afterwards reduced to the necessity of renewing their appeals to the public, whereby they had found themselves awkwardly circumstanced. He therefore advised me to qualify the pledge, which I did *instanter*, as follows—"I would hope I have now done with Col. ———; but if I am rightly informed, there is in his composition too much of that quality, which, in good men, and applied to good purposes, is termed *perseverance*,—and in bad men, and applied to bad purposes, is termed *obstinacy*, to allow me to be sanguine." In this reply I had advanced strong charges of plagiarism against my antagonist, who had taken passages from Junius, and the North Briton, which, though they applied to the dukes of Grafton and Bedford, and lord Mansfield, had no possible application to me. After the duel, I was forbidden for a day or two to read, or to talk, except very moderately. The first book I took up, when the interdict was removed, was Tristram Shandy; and there, in the manner of the *Virgilianæ sortes*, I at once opened upon the same character applied to Uncle Toby. The reader may readily suppose my mortification. The book dropped from my hands, and I was seized with a cold sweat, at the predicament in which I was placed; liable to have the charge I had so vehemently alleged against another, retorted with every appearance of retributive justice on myself. Fortunately, no notice was ever taken of the affair, and I therefore escaped from the condemnation I should have undeservedly met with. Let it be observed that I had not looked into Tristram Shandy for probably ten years before.

tics has not enabled them to ascribe to any former writer, they are as tutanic ware compared with silver, or as pinchbeck compared with gold. I request the reader's attention to another point. After all the tedious hours employed in this research by Ferriar and others, the extent of the alleged thefts is to the last degree insignificant. It would have been like Crœsus robbing a poor widow of her last mite, for so fertile a writer as Sterne to have stolen the passages in question.

Sterne's works are generally published in eight volumes, each averaging about 300 pages. Every page contains about 36 lines, amounting in the whole to above 80,000 lines. And, gentle reader, observe, that on a careful examination of the "Illustrations," I can venture to affirm, that the utmost extent of all the thefts adduced against this writer, is not above 300 lines, of which there are not 50, that contain any thing very striking or remarkable.

Dr. Ferriar appears desirous to have himself the whole merit of destroying the claims of Sterne to originality; and therefore he zealously defends him from a charge preferred against him by some other writer, of having, in Tristram Shandy, pilfered largely from "Friar Gerund," a Spanish work written by father Isla. The accusation was supported precisely as the doctor supports his assertions, by producing many passages exactly parallel, from the two works. The doctor repels the charge on the strong ground, that Friar Gerund was published in Spain in the same year in which the two first volumes of Tristram Shandy appeared in London, and was not translated into English for several years afterwards. This very circumstance, had the doctor paid the necessary attention to it, ought to have inspired some doubts of his general theory. For had the Spanish work been as ancient as the Comic Romance, or the Anatomy of Melancholy, it would, in all probability, have swelled the list, adduced by Ferriar himself, of the victims of Sterne's rapacity. And on the subject of plagiarism generally, let it be observed, that no satisfactory reason can be given, why an author may not write as exactly like another who flourished fifty or a hundred years before him, as like one of his cotemporaries, whose works he could not possibly have read.

There is an extraordinary singularity in the case of Sterne. He is now believed to be indebted for a large portion of his works to former authors. And yet some of his writings, in as great a degree as those of any other man that ever lived, pos-

sess the most infallible stamp of sterling merit—they are almost inimitable. During his life, and since his death there have been numberless attempts to imitate him, and some of them made by men of considerable talents; not one of which is acknowledged to have approached near to the original. They mostly fall below mediocrity. The Sentimental Journey is often disgraced by a pretended continuation, which has obviously cost the writer much time and pains. It serves as a foil to display the intrinsic merits of Sterne's work precisely as a statue of Hecate placed in contrast with the Venus de Medici, would give additional charms to the countenance of the Cyprian goddess. The only works of the kind that can be read with patience after the Sentimental Journey, are, "Keates' Sketches from Nature," and "Fragments after the manner of Sterne." And even of these two a very large portion bears the evident stamp of great inferiority.

Dr. Ferriar admits Sterne to have possessed powerful talents, genuine humour and great pathos. This admission, independent of any other consideration, would be almost sufficient to repel the charge of plagiarism. From what I have stated of the extent of the thefts ascribed to Sterne, it appears they are not equal to what a man not of powerful talents, but merely above mediocrity, might readily write in a day or two.

The grounds of some of Dr. Ferriar's allegations are to the last degree whimsical, absurd and untenable.

"From Rabelais, Sterne seems to have caught the design of writing a general satire on the abuse of speculative opinions!"*

"The birth and education of Pantagruel evidently gave rise to that of Martinus Scriblerus, and both were fresh in Sterne's memory, when he composed the first chapter of Tristram Shandy."†

"Perhaps the story of Pautrot and the Lady de Noaille, suggested to Sterne the scene with the Piedmontese Lady, in his Sentimental Journey."‡

"There is stronger reason to believe, that Sterne took the hint of beginning some of his Sermons in a startling and unusual manner, from this source!"§

"That Sterne frequently had in view the Tale of a Tub, in composing Tristram Shandy, cannot be doubted. Swift's Dissertation on Ears, probably contributed towards Sterne's Digression on Noses!"‖

I presume all these insinuations will be regarded as hypercritical and unwarranted. I now proceed to exhibit in con-

* Ferriar's Illustrations of Sterne, p. 24. † Idem, p. 25. ‡ Idem, p 36. § Ibid. ‖ Idem, p. 51.

trast, some of the cases in which Ferriar gives what he regards as the originals of Sterne's plagiarism:

"I maintain it, the conceits of a rough bearded man are seven years more terse and juvenile, for one single operation; and if they did not run a risk of being shaved quite away, might be carried up to the highest pitch of sublimity."*

"Before one of Alexander's battles, Parmenio presented himself to give an account of his arrangements, and to inquire whether any thing remained to be done? 'Nothing,' said Alexander, 'but that the men should shave.' 'SHAVE!' cried Parmenio. 'Yes,' replied the prince, 'do you not consider what a handle a long beard affords to the enemy.'"

"Bonjour! good morrow; so you have got your cloak on betimes. But 'tis a cold morning, and you judge the matter rightly. 'Tis better to be well mounted than go a'foot,—and obstructions in the glands are dangerous. And how goes it with thy concubine—thy wife—and thy little ones o' both sides? and when did you hear from the old gentleman and lady?"†

"Gens de bien, Dieu vous sauve et garde. Où estes vous? Je ne peux vous voir. Attendez, que je chausée mes lunettes. Ha, ha, bien et beau s'en va, Quaresme; je vous voy. Et doncques? Vous avez eu bonne vince, à ce que l'on m'a dit. Vous, vos femmes, enfans, parens, et familles, estes en santé desirée. Cela va bien—cela est bon—cela me plait."—Rabelais.

Tristram's father had a favourite mare which he intended to have covered by a beautiful Arabian horse—but by some mistake of his servant Obadiah, an ass was substituted for the Arabian courser,—the consequence was, that the foal was "nothing better than a mule, and as ugly a beast of the kind as ever was produced;"—on this occasion Sterne makes the following observations, which Ferriar traces to the "Moyen de Parvenir," with what propriety the reader shall judge,—

"My mother and my Uncle Toby expected my father would be the death of Obadiah, and that there never would be an end of the disaster. 'See here, you rascal,' cried my father, pointing to the mule, 'what you have done.' 'It was not I,' said Obadiah. 'How do I know that?' replied my father."‡

"Un petit garçon de Paris, appella un autre, fils de putain, qui s'en prit a pleurer, et le vient dire a sa mere, qui lui dit,—'Que ne lui as tu dit, qu'il avoit menti.' 'Et que savois-je?' dit il."

Surely this is as far-fetched a charge of plagiarism as ever was preferred.

* Ferriar's Illustrations of Sterne, p. 176. † Idem, p. 32. ‡ Idem, p. 33.

"In short, my father advanced so slowly with his work, and I began to live and get forward at such a rate, that if an event had not happened, &c., I believe I had put by my father, and left him drawing a sun-dial for no better purpose than to be buried under ground."*

This passage Ferriar traces to Donne.

"Donne concludes his poem entitled the Will, with this very thought:
'And all your graces no more use shall have
Than a sun-dial in the grave.'"

I might have greatly increased the examples of this over-strained hypercriticism, but trust I have produced enough to prove the captious spirit by which Ferriar was actuated. That there are, as I have already stated, several passages, which are to be found almost verbatim in Rabelais, Burton, Scarron and Bouchet, I freely admit.—But the whole amount of this description, is so small, and has so little beyond the most ordinary conceptions of Sterne's eccentric mind, that they cannot be regarded as fastening on him the charge of plagiarism in the proper sense of that word, and are far more rationally accounted for on the hypothesis which I have ventured to offer on the subject, than on Ferriar's. I am much mistaken, if a writer of imagination, and other talents far inferior to Sterne, would not find it far easier to compose two pages, than to search for and find half a page to answer his purpose. Indeed, Ferriar himself, inadvertently perhaps, exonerates Sterne from the charge which he has laboured so hard to fix on him. He says—"*The most ludicrous and extravagant parts of the book* [the Serées of Bouchet,] *seem to have dwelt upon Sterne's mind, and he appears to have frequently recurred to them* FROM MEMORY."† The same observation will apply with equal force to the other books to which Ferriar had recourse to prove his accusation.

Port Folio, Oct. 1810.

ON THE EFFECTS OF PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY.

It is generally, perhaps universally, assumed, that great prosperity is far more pernicious to the morals and manners of those to whose lot it falls, than the extreme of adversity—

* Ferriar's Illustrations of Sterne, p. 170. † Idem, p. 43.

that not only are more persons deteriorated by the former, than by the latter, but that the operation of adversity is positively salutary to mankind.

These dogmata demand investigation. It is believed that, like many other popular ones, they are far more plausible than solid. I propose to offer a few reflections on the subject, ready on this occasion, as on every other, to change my opinions, if they shall be proved erroneous.

Let me premise, that I do not propose to consider the case of persons suddenly enriched by a prize in a lottery, by the successful cruise of a privateer, or even by a prosperous speculation in business; nor, on the other hand, the case of persons suddenly reduced to poverty by a conflagration—by the fraud, the folly, or the misfortune of debtors—or by the loss of an uninsured vessel containing the chief part of their wealth. I confine my observations, on the one hand, to the case of persons who gradually rise to large fortunes after years of honest industry and economy—and on the other, to persons, who, after years of unavailing struggles with adversity, are finally reduced to penury and distress.

In the present state of society, every community furnishes numbers of both descriptions. In times of intense distress, there are always many persons who are making fortunes—and, in times of great prosperity, there are at least equal numbers, who, through misfortunes, or improvidence, are at once reduced in their circumstances. My views have no reference whatever to such cases. They are confined to periods when trade and commerce maintain "the even tenor of their way"—when no extraordinary chances of making fortunes present themselves, and when none of those storms or hurricanes take place, which occasionally, perhaps I might say periodically, visit the trading and commercial world.

Those who have risen in the world from humble beginnings, stand in conspicuous situations—are therefore objects of great attention—occupy a large space in the public eye—and whatever they do, out of the common course of things—every display of folly, extravagance, or dissipation—attracts general attention and becomes an object of pointed censure. But above all things, if they be elevated with their good fortune, or, what is called "purse proud"—they attract the highest degree of obloquy and aversion. They, I repeat, occupy a conspicuous place in society—all eyes are upon them—their vices

and follies are viewed through a microscope—and exaggerated by envy, by jealousy, and other ignoble passions.

On a candid view of society, it will be found, that of those who gradually rise to affluence after years of laborious industry, there are not probably five in the hundred who are liable to the charge of being purse proud and arrogant. Some infatuated men, in fact, in those circumstances, become more parsimonious, the more their wealth increases; whereas gradual advances in prosperity, in the main, produce salutary effects on morals and manners. But from the almost universal habit of generalization that prevails among mankind, the five will be sufficient to attach discredit to the remaining ninety-five, and to perpetuate the dogma of the pernicious consequences of prosperity, and cause to be regarded as oracular the adage—"Set a beggar on horseback and he'll ride to the d——."

But little or no notice is taken of the hapless hundreds who have commenced their career under favourable auspices—who have for years maintained a constant and unwearied struggle against adversity, which has finally overpowered and reduced them to penury. At length, disheartened and in despair they give way, become reckless of public opinion—of themselves—of their families—of society—and thus a career, begun with fair prospects, is too often closed in intemperance and dissolute habits and manners. Of the correctness of this portrait, in too many instances, none will doubt, who look round, and duly reflect on the subject.

Two armies meet, each of 50,000 men. A bloody battle is fought. A tremendous carnage takes place. The ensanguined plain is strewed with 30,000 bodies of those who a few hours before were in high health, many of whom have left wives, children, and friends to mourn over their loss. Among the number are five generals and twenty other officers of high grade. Their loss is sounded abroad with loud lamentation—mourning is assumed—adulatory obituary notices are published—their histories, from the cradle to the gory field, are eagerly sought for in necrologies. If there be among them a Nelson, an Abercrombie, a Dessaix, a Poniatowski, a Montgomery, a Warren, the loss becomes a subject of national and long enduring regret.

Of the remaining 29,975 no notice is taken. They fall ingloriously. The loss, except as a diminution of national force,

occasions little more sensation than the death of so many sparrows which fall victims to the severity of the weather.

Thus it is with the rich and the poor. The former are the field officers—the latter, the rank and file of society. When the former are deteriorated by prosperity, their moral fall is immensely magnified. But the degradation of the poor who fall victims to the storms of adversity, is never regarded. May I not then say, that if prosperity morally slays its thousands—adversity slays its tens of thousands!

In a qualified sense, I am willing to admit that the popular opinion on this subject, may be correct. A little occasional adversity, which checks a man's career of prosperity, but does not wholly lay him prostrate, may be serviceable in a moral and religious point of view. But with the generality of mankind, the effect of extreme adversity is, to harden the heart, and to curdle the milk of human kindness in the breast; whereas on the other hand, prosperity generally expands the heart, and leaves it accessible to the suggestions of benevolence and beneficence. There are, I admit, exceptions, and not a few. But it is a miserable mistake to convert exceptions into general rules, as is almost universally done in the case under consideration.

Philadelphia, November 4, 1830.

Dublin, Dec. 8, 1779.

ON MONDAY NEXT WILL BE PUBLISHED,*

(Price a British Shilling,)

THE URGENT NECESSITY

OF AN

IMMEDIATE REPEAL

OF THE

Whole Penal Code against the Roman Catholics:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PREJUDICES ENTERTAINED AGAINST THEM:

BEING AN

APPEAL TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND,

EXCITING THEM

TO A JUST SENSE OF THEIR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS,

AS CITIZENS OF A FREE NATION.

"Beware, ye senators! *look round in time—*
"*Rebellion is not fix'd to any clime—*
"In TRADE, RELIGION, EV'RY WAY *oppress'd*,
"You'll find, too late, such wrongs MUST BE REDRESS'D.
"*Seize quick the time*—for now—consider well—
"WHOLE QUARTERS OF THE WORLD, AT ONCE, REBEL."

Lady Lucan.

"*Cuncta prius tentanda—sed immedicabile vulnus*
"ENSE RECIDENDUM." *Ovid.*

"To gain for this country a real durable peace, unattainable between tyrants and slaves, has been the writer's sole inducement to this undertaking; how far the mode he has adopted can facilitate this grand object, he submits to the candour of an indulgent public."

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* The pamphlet announced in the above advertisement, was not published. The advertisement excited a great sensation, and a handsome reward was offered in the papers for the discovery of the writer; in consequence of which, the pamphlet was suppressed. The preface, and four pages at the end of it, although in type and ready for press, were not printed off; so that a complete copy was never procurable. On consultation among my friends, it was judged proper to send me to France, to avoid the trouble, the expense, and the imprisonment, which would probably result from a prosecution for a seditious publication. The pamphlet was printed by John Chambers, Esq. now, and for many years a respectable inhabitant of the city of New York. It was perfectly innocuous; all the offensive and prosecutable matter being contained in the two mottos, from lady Lucan and Ovid.

Extract from the Volunteers' Journal, Jan. 5, 1784.

"Desperate disorders require desperate remedies. Every peaceable effort we have made, has been laughed to scorn. * * * * * * Public virtue is endeavoured to be extirpated—our dearest interests set at nought—and every endeavour at emerging from wretchedness baffled. What remains for us to do? Should we lie down and kiss the rod?—or should we dare the worst? To fall in a struggle for freedom, is glorious.—America's gratitude to her heroic patriots should stimulate us to equal virtue. At all events, he is undeserving of existence, who would hesitate to risque it for his country's preservation.

"This matter is plain, and speaks to every man's feelings. Let the man of landed property put the question to himself, whence arises the depopulation of this country, and consequent low value of lands? From the blasting connexion with Britain.

"Let the farmer ask himself whence arises it, that agriculture languishes here? From the blasting connexion with Britain.

"Let the trader, the manufacturer ask, wherefore is our commerce confined—trade almost wholly stagnated—credit in a tottering state—our specie exhausted? From the blasting connexion with Britain.

"Let the famishing, wretched workman, with his starving wife and children around him, craving for subsistence, which he is unable to afford them, for want of employment,—let this unhappy creature, in the midst of sufferings which imagination can scarcely paint, and which make him almost fly in the face of his Maker, and vent curses on the first hour of his existence,—let him ask, whence flow these frightful evils? From the blasting connexion with Britain.

"Our intent is to prove, that as no ancient claims of the conquest of ancestors, can be binding on their posterity—and as it is the right of such posterity to choose a government for themselves, therefore, if by any evil chance the late administration, should regain their former authority in England, there only rests for us to choose whether we will quit this country, and retire to a new world for liberty—tamely kiss the rod that scourges us,—or dare to be free? *Sat sapienti.*"

The preceding inflammatory and seditious piece, for which the effervescence of youth, and the intense excitement of the public

mind, are the only apologies, was never *written*. I composed it in the types as it stands—a case which sometimes occurs, but not often. For this and sundry paragraphs subsequently published in February, and March, and particularly one on the 5th of April, I drew on myself the vengeance of parliament. Under a warrant from the House of Commons, I was arrested by the sergeant at arms, and taken to his house, where I remained for two or three days, during a temporary adjournment of parliament, and was treated with great rudeness and oppression, with a sentinel within my room, one at the outside of the door—and two at the street door. I was not allowed to send out a letter or paper without being submitted to the inspection of the sergeant at arms—nor to speak in a whisper to my own family. When the parliament reassembled, I was brought to the bar, and interrogated. I refused to answer questions, and was sent to prison, where I remained for some weeks, until the close of the session, when their power of confinement having ceased, I was liberated by the lord mayor.

After my liberation, I was harassed by an indictment filed by the attorney general, *ex officio*, for no grand jury could be procured in the city or county who would find a bill against me. The heavy expense attendant on a government prosecution, with the probable unfavourable verdict of a packed jury which might lead to fine and imprisonment, induced me to migrate to this country, towards the close of the year 1784, when I was but little more than twenty-four years of age, being thus twice exiled from my country by my pen, at that early age.

The following extract from the *History of the House of Commons of Ireland*, will show the unfeeling and brutal conduct of the sergeant at arms, and the injustice of the vote of the House of Commons.

Philadelphia, Nov. 8, 1830.

"Mr. Gardiner read two resolutions, the first declaring the charge against Mr. Lestrange [the sergeant at arms,] ill-grounded and malicious, and the last an approbation of Mr. Lestrange's conduct.

"Sir Edward Crofton and Mr. Jones contending that Mr. Carey had not been permitted to substantiate his charge by evidence, and that it had not been controverted, Mr. Carey was called upon to produce his witnesses.

"Mr. Thomas Carey declared, that his brother was thirty hours in Mr. Lestrange's house without a bed; that he then got leave to put up one; that he was once refused admittance to his brother, by Mr. Lestrange himself, and that a number of persons complained to him that they were refused admittance to Mr. Mathew Carey: He believes if time were given, he could produce eight persons who were refused, among whom was his father, uncle, and a cousin—That he, Thomas Carey, was not allowed to speak in private

to his brother; that on Thursday having whispered him, he was rudely pulled by the arm: that irritated at this treatment, he had sent for Mr. Lestrange, to know if he had given such orders, and from whom he had received them. *Mr. Lestrange confessed that he had desired that he should not speak in private*, and that he was commanded so to do. As most of the particulars were contrary to what Mr. Lestrange had asserted on his examination, Thomas Carey wished the witnesses were sworn, and offered to make oath of the truth of what he had said, which was not required.

"Mr. Mathew Doyle was next examined, who deposed, that he had been admitted, and then denied admittance, to Mr. Carey; and that several other persons were also precluded from seeing or conversing with Mr. Carey.

"Mr. M'Donough corroborated Mr. Doyle's testimony, and gave an instance of the *brutality of the soldiery [at the front door] in the presence of Mr. Lestrange, on his attempting to get admittance to Mr. Carey, by rudely shoving him into the street.*

"Mr. Gardiner rose again, and declared himself convinced by Mr. Carey's substantiating his charge, of *the impropriety of the first resolution he had read*, for which reason he moved, that the conduct of Mr. Lestrange, deputy sergeant at arms, to Mathew Carey, while in his custody, was cautious, firm and humane.

"Sir Edward Newenham said, he was pleased that his Right Honourable colleague had withdrawn his first motion; for it could not be supported, as it militated against those facts which all sides acknowledged: he must oppose his second motion as it was contrary to justice and equity: for the case in trial stands thus, and no lawyer can deny it; *Mathew Carey made charges against the deputy sergeant at arms; the sergeant was called on for his defence, he produced witnesses on his behalf, yet he, like an honest man, acknowledged he had been guilty of the charge of denying the prisoner the use of pen and ink, and of liberty to see and consult with his friends;* and Carey then substantiated his charges by evidences. To what a melancholy situation is a free born Irish subject driven!—Will an Irish Parliament, that glories in its emancipation from foreign usurpation, now subvert the inestimable liberty of a subject? For his part, he said, he knew the treasury bench could (unfortunately for his country,) command a majority, yet if he was the single man in the committee, he would divide in favour of the liberty of the subject, and he would appeal for the rectitude of his conduct to the people at large." *Parliamentary Register, and History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons of Ireland*, vol. iii. pp. 184–5.

The motion, however, was carried.

Extract from the First Report of the Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Domestics.

Solicitude for the morals and manners of the rising generation, entered largely into the inducements for perseverance in the attempt to establish this society. The deportment of do-

mestics has at all times a considerable influence on the tempers and dispositions of the children of those with whom they live; and often affects them through the whole course of their lives, and decides their career for good or evil. In the best regulated families, children have daily intercourse with the domestics, and, plastic as their minds are, they receive impressions, more or less vivid, according to circumstances, from the conduct and behaviour of this class. In families immersed in business, and unable to watch over their children with the proper attention, and in those families where such considerations are not duly appreciated, the children have generally more intercourse with the domestics than with their parents, and, therefore, their tempers, dispositions, and characters, are more moulded by the former than by the latter. Of course, the characters of this class are of inappreciable importance among families of children. To the cogency of these observations, no parents, duly sensible of the fearful responsibility under which they lie towards their offspring, can be insensible. They require only to be suggested, forcibly to strike the most cursory observer.

Regard for the welfare and happiness of domestics, who form a much more numerous and important portion of the community than people are generally aware, had a powerful influence also in the attempt to promote the success of the plan. This is probably a point of view in which the subject has not generally been considered. Few, we believe, have an idea of the numbers of this class. We venture a rough estimate, which is as near an approximation to the truth as in our power; and probably not far from the reality.

There are in the city and liberties, it is supposed, about 160,000 inhabitants.* Calculating six persons to a house, the general average, there are nearly 27,000 houses.

We will assume 9,000 houses without domestics—		
12,000	with a single domestic,	12,000
3,000	with two,	6,000
2,000	with three,	6,000
1,000	with four,	4,000
Total estimate of domestics in City and Liberties,		28,000

* Since the above was written, the Census of the City and Liberties has been published—and it appears the population is about 167,000.

It is impossible for any person not entirely destitute of humanity, to regard the moral and religious condition of such a number of human beings without deep interest—an establishment, therefore, calculated to elevate them in their own estimation, and in that of the community, has a powerful claim on the support of the humane and benevolent, independent of the advantages it confers on its members.

With respect to female domestics, a consideration of no small importance demands attention. Many of them, who are very valuable, come from the country, with few or no acquaintances in this city, and, innocent and unsuspicious, are liable to be deceived and ruined by designing persons, always on the watch to take advantage of innocent and ignorant strangers. To such strangers, this establishment holds out an invaluable safeguard against deception and fraud; and, it is believed, will secure many from destruction. On this subject we could offer some melancholy facts, but presume the mere allusion to them will suffice to impress the public with the great importance of this feature of our institution.

Philadelphia, October 20, 1830.

MEMORIAL ON THE SUBJECT OF IMPRISONMENT FOR DEBT.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia,

Respectfully Showeth—That imprisonment for debt is a discreditable remnant of a barbarous system of ancient times, whereby insolvent debtors became the slaves of their creditors, and were subject to all the pains and penalties of slavery.

"By the laws of the Twelve Tables, it was ordained that *insolvent debtors should be given up to their creditors, to be bound in fetters and cords.*" * * * * * * "THEY WERE IN ACTUAL SLAVERY, AND OFTEN TREATED MORE HARSHLY THAN SLAVES THEMSELVES."—*Adams's Roman Antiquities*, page 45.

"That imprisonment is punishment, and as such is inflicted

on criminals;—that to imprison an honest, unfortunate insolvent debtor, is to punish him without trial or conviction, not for crime, but misfortune—and is unjust and oppressive; and any statute authorizing such cruelty and injustice, is an unconstitutional exercise of legislative power.

"That to contract debt with fraudulent intent, and to evade by fraudulent means the payment of a just debt, are criminal offences; and perpetrators there of ought to bepunished 'according to the law of the land,' and 'due course of law.'"*

That the ostensible object of imprisonment for debt, to force debtors to pay their creditors, fails in nine cases out of ten—as the records of prisons for debtors abundantly prove. It appears that in the city of New York, in the year 1829, there were 1085 persons imprisoned for debts to the amount of $25,409, of which there was paid in jail only $295—being less than one-eightieth part of the debts.

That costs by this system are accumulated to an enormous amount; those attending the suits, for the above debts, having been no less than $362,076, or fourteen times the amount of the debts—and above one thousand times the amount of the sums recovered.

That imprisonment for small debts reduces numbers of families in all our cities to a state of pauperism and wretchedness—as the men on whom those families depend, are unable, while incarcerated, to contribute towards their support—and hence, they are reduced to a dependence on the guardians of the poor; thus greatly increasing the burdens of the pauper system—burdens, at all times and under all circumstances, so oppressive to our citizens, as not to require any unnecessary addition.

That in about eight months, from June 6, 1829, till February 24th, 1830, there were confined in the debtors' prison in this city, no less than 817 persons,† of whom 577 were for debts under twenty dollars; 437 for debts under ten; 263 for debts under five; and 30 for debts under one dollar each.

* These three paragraphs are taken from a most powerful memorial on the subject, agreed to at a public meeting in New York.

† This is an error resulting from misinformation. Judgments were issued against the above number of persons, nearly the whole of whom gave security for their appearance at court, to take the benefit of the insolvent act, and were therefore released from the necessity of being immured in prison. The expense of procuring and giving security, was in some instances, equal to the amount of the debt.

That of sixty-four of them, the debts were only fifty-eight dollars, and the costs 120 dollars.

Your memorialists, therefore, hope, that at no distant day, the cruelty and inefficiency of the system of imprisonment for debt will cause it to be entirely expunged from our code—but for the present, at this late period of the session, they merely pray for the passage of a short act, (similar to one in force in Massachusetts) whereby imprisonment for debts under five dollars, shall be immediately abolished; a point on the advantages of which, they fondly hope, there can be no difference of sentiment among enlightened and benevolent men.

Philadelphia, March 12, 1830.

Extract from an Essay on the Proposed Plan for Establishing a College in Philadelphia, in which English Literature, the Sciences, and the Liberal Arts shall be taught: and for Admission into which no prerequisite of having learned the Latin or Greek shall be necessary.

It is an observation as true as it is trite, that there was a time, on the revival of learning, when the Latin was almost the universal medium of communication between different nations, not only among the learned, but among persons of other classes. All the treasures of antiquity were locked up in that and the Greek. Those languages were then universally studied by all persons who received a regular education. They were indispensably necessary. Ladies are on record who spoke and wrote them fluently, particularly the Latin. The grammar of the vernacular tongues was comparatively neglected. All the scientific works, and almost all the histories, voyages, and travels, were written in Latin, in which, indeed, novels occasionally appeared. Under these circumstances, it is not wonderful, that education was not considered complete, without the study of the dead languages.

A total change has taken place long since in the use of those languages.* They are no where spoken, as far as I can learn—

* "Custom, which prevails over every thing, has made Latin so much a part of education, that *even those children are whipped into it, and made to spend many hours of their precious time uneasily in Latin, who, after they are once gone from school, are never to have more to do with it, as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a father should waste his*

and very rarely written.* Parts of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, may, perhaps, be regarded as exceptions. There a sort of mongrel Latin, almost as corrupt as the West India Creole French, is occasionally spoken. The French has in a great measure usurped the place of the Latin, and may, to a certain degree, be regarded as an universal language. There is not, I believe, a nation in Europe, in which it is not extensively taught. A person travelling through that section of the globe, can scarcely visit a town or city in which he cannot make himself fully understood by the aid of that language.

It is asserted that without a knowledge of the Greek and Latin, it is impossible to understand the technical terms and various other words of the English, which are derived from those languages, which will oblige persons ignorant of them to have frequent recourse to their dictionaries in after life. Suppose, for a moment, this were the case, would it, for the sake of a few hundred words thus derived, be proper to spend five years in the acquisition?

But the fact is not so. A very considerable number of the technical terms of art and science, and other words derived from the Latin and Greek, are as familiar to such as have received a liberal English education, as those derived from the Saxon.† Can such persons find any difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of arcana, fac simile, fieri facias, paraphernalia, thermometer, phthisic, physiognomy, philippic, phantasm, sine qua non, multum in parvo, ne plus ultra, errata, excerpta, exeunt omnes, ex officio, ex parte, ex post facto, maximum, minus, minimum, modus operandi, non compos mentis, &c.? Were this position well-founded, it would be necessary, in order to be complete master of the English language, to study almost all the languages, ancient and modern; for ours has been

own money, and his son's time, in setting him to learn the Roman language, when at the same time, he designs him for a trade, wherein he, having no use of Latin, fails not to forget that little which he brought from school, and which it is ten to one he abhors for the ill usage it procured him? could it be believed, unless we had every where amongst us examples of it, that *a child should be forced to learn the rudiments of a language, which he is never to use in the course of life that he is designed to.*"—Locke's Works, vol. ix. page 152.

* The slightness of our intercourse with Greece, renders it necessary to make an exception of the Romaic, in use in that country, which is, I believe, only a corruption of the language of Plato and Xenophon.

† Rush, passim.

embellished by large drafts from nearly all of them. Does not a good English scholar understand the meaning of etiquette, mauvaise honte, beau monde, bon vivant, corps diplomatique, coup d'œil, denouement, double entendre, eclaircissement, encore, en masse, ennui, entre nous, fête champêtre, par excellence, legerdemain, pique, piquet, piquant, carte blanche, bon mot, chef-d'œuvre, coup de main, and hundreds of other words transplanted into the English from the French, as well as if he had studied the latter language—or at least well enough for all the common purposes of life?

Again. In the classics studied by scholars learning Latin and Greek, there is not one of the technical words of some of the sciences—and of the others, very few.* In which of the classics shall we seek for terms of theology, of medicine, of law, of natural philosophy, of chemistry, of mineralogy, &c. &c.?

It is asserted that it is impossible to write or speak the English language correctly without a knowledge of the Latin and Greek. This is a gratuitous assertion, wholly unfounded. It is well known that ladies who have had a complete regular education in any of our respectable seminaries, where due attention is paid to the English language, speak and write as correctly and elegantly, without the least tincture of either of the dead languages, as regular Latin and Greek scholars. On this head, as in the former case, the testimony of Locke is conclusive:—

"There are ladies, who, without knowing what tenses and participles, adverbs and prepositions are, *speak as properly and correctly*, (they might take it for an ill compliment, if I said as any country schoolmaster,) *as most gentlemen who have been bred upon the ordinary method of grammar schools*."†

If this was the case in the time of Locke, when female education was so much neglected, how much stronger does the observation apply at present, when the education of ladies has undergone so much improvement?

Far from the position here combated being true, it is in many cases the reverse of truth. Among the most inelegant writers of the English language are to be found some of the most profound classical scholars. Their devotion to the learned languages, frequently introduces a harshness and stiffness into their style, and an exotic collocation of their words, foreign from the genius of the English. Blair's Lectures, the produc-

* Rush, passim. † Locke, ix. page 160.

tion of a profound classical scholar, abounds not only with inelegancies, but absolute inaccuracies. In one of the numbers of the Westminster Magazine are to be found entire pages of specimens of those inelegancies and inaccuracies, many of which would not have been committed by a good mere English scholar. Dr. Franklin's case bears strongly on this point. His fame resounded through both hemispheres, and his style was unexceptionably pure, and correct, at a time when he was wholly unacquainted with both Latin and Greek. The former language he acquired at a late period of life—the latter, I believe, he never studied.

We are told with great gravity, that this system is pernicious, because some of the young men educated under it, may in process of time, become members of congress—heads of departments—and even presidents of the United States—for which stations, it is implied, the want of a knowledge of the dead languages would disqualify them! However extraordinary this inference may appear, it is the only one of which the objection is susceptible. I have already stated the strong and unanswerable case of Dr. Franklin. The perfidy of General Arnold prevents me from quoting him as an example of a man of distinguished standing, destitute of classical learning. Thomas Fitzsimons, equally destitute, yielded to no man in congress in the talents of a statesman. General Greene, only second to the commander in chief, is an illustrious instance. He studied the Latin language only three months, and knew nothing of the Greek—Yet his letters display as much elegance of style, and of the profound wisdom of a finished statesman, as his military operations, and the despatches from his camps, of the skill of a consummate general. Indeed, of those who distinguished themselves in the field or the cabinet, during the arduous struggle of the revolution, it appears certain, when we consider how slender were the means of education in this country at that period, that in all probability two-thirds of them knew as little of the languages as General Greene. But this did not disqualify them from producing those splendid state papers, which, for style and matter, excited the admiration of the most enlightened men throughout the whole civilized world, and, on comparison, would make many of the greatest classical scholars of Europe "hide their diminished heads."

Philadelphia, March 23, 1826.

To the Members of St. Mary's Congregation.

Discord has existed in this congregation for nearly two years, to the scandal of its members, and the discredit of the church. Its enemies have rejoiced—its friends have mourned over the events that have occurred.

History proves that in all divisions and schisms, there are almost always errors on both sides. At all events, it requires but little penetration to see, and little candour to acknowledge, that this is the case in St. Mary's.

It would be difficult to ascertain the exact proportion of error on either side. The inquiry would be useless, were it practicable. It is forborne.

Interminable hostility is not made for the limited animal, man. His quarrels, how rancorous soever in their origin and progress, must sooner or later subside into a suspension of hostility—if not into absolute peace, or complete harmony.

A suspension of discord is "a consummation devoutly to be wished." There is no mode of effecting this desirable object, that bids so fair to be successful, as a negotiation by suitable persons. Terminate when the hostility may, it must be done in this way at last. A measure, which is highly desirable, and which must be ultimately adopted, ought to be adopted without delay.

Reason, common sense, and religion, all combine to urge us to make an effort to attain this object. Every year, or month, or day of angry passion, converted into the mild spirit of charity and forbearance, is a grand point gained.

It is unnecessary to urge how totally opposite the present state of things—the present prevailing temper of no small portion of the members of the congregation on both sides—are, to the letter and spirit of the Christian religion. This topic is barely glanced at. A thorough discussion might excite painful sensations.

It is therefore proposed that a few members on each side, who have not allowed their passions to be deeply excited, should confer on the subject of a reconciliation. It is highly meritorious to make an offering on the altar of peace and forgiveness, of rightful claims, where no principle is violated or abandoned. But the sacrifice, for such an object, of claims of a doubtful character, or unimportant nature, is an incumbent duty. Sa-

crifices of the latter description might easily be pointed out to be made on both sides.

This measure of appointing committees of conference was proposed at an early stage of the contest, by the writer of this address.—It would, probably, have preserved the congregation from many painful—many disgraceful scenes. It was rejected with disdain. Who but laments that such a measure had not a fair trial? It might have done good. It could not possibly have done injury.*

April 19, 1814.

To the Directors of the Public Schools of the City and adjoining Districts,

The Memorial of a Meeting of Citizens, assembled in the Sunday School Rooms, Feb. 12th, 1829, respectfully showeth:

That the experiment of the city Infant School, of nineteen months, and in the Infant Schools in the Northern Liberties and Southwark, of six and three months, has fully proved that these institutions are eminently calculated to produce the most salutary results to society, by rescuing the children of the labouring classes from the contamination necessarily resulting from their prowling the streets, which would be the case generally, but for these schools; and likewise from the dangers and accidents to which young children are liable in the absence of their parents, when left to the care of children but a year or two older than themselves, whereby they are frequently burned or scalded to death: and, when they escape this fate, often become crippled and disfigured, and some of them so far disabled, as to be ultimately burdensome, as paupers, during life.

That in addition to these advantages, which would be amply sufficient to entitle these schools to the patronage of the public, the children make the most extraordinary progress in the elements of a good common education, and acquire habits of order, regularity and docility, which will probably endure

* It is to be regretted that this appeal was unsuccessful. The consequences were truly deplorable—the rupture of long established friendships—discord in families—excommunications—riots—wounds, in one or two instances terminating in death—criminal prosecutions—actions for damages, &c. &c.

through life, instead of being as they would otherwise be, a pest and a nuisance. In this point of view these schools produce incalculable benefits.

That a further advantage arising from these schools is, that the mothers of the children are released from anxiety and care respecting them, and enabled to pursue their labours for the support of themselves and their families. It is more than probable that some of the mothers are thus rescued from the necessity of applying to the overseers of the poor, for reliefs and that in this manner the public may be indemnified for a portion of the expense of the schools.

That in addition to the sound reasons that induced the legislature to make provision for the education of children above five and six years of age, it may be observed that the latter previous to their entrance into the public schools, may, and often do, by the force of evil example, and by the utter neglect of their parents, acquire such corrupt habits, as no future efforts may be able wholly to eradicate: whereas, the minds of the children, to whom we are anxious to direct your paternal attention, are like blank paper, on which, by proper care and attention, the characters of virtue and goodness may be easily and indelibly traced.

That on mature reflection we are persuaded that in no mode can such a copious harvest of benefits to society, be reaped from the same expenditure of public money, and that in no mode can the same amount of public money be disbursed with so much general approbation.

That in Great Britain, where the system was first introduced, the results have been found so salutary, that Infant Schools are spreading rapidly throughout the kingdom; similar results in New York, have led the Public School Society of that city, to incorporate those schools in their general system of education. And the example set in New York and Philadelphia has led to the introduction of the system into Boston, where it is spreading rapidly. Infant Schools are likewise established in various other parts of the United States, and are attended with the most complete success.

That although the liberality of our citizens has been laudably extended to the schools, the resources for their support are utterly inadequate to the wants of the community, as there are but nine schools established; in which from 950 to 1100 chil-

dren are instructed; whereas, the substantial interests of the city would require provision for at least 3 to 4000.

Your memorialists hope, that taking the premises into your serious consideration, you will adopt such measures thereon as sound policy and a regard for the virtue and happiness of the rising generation shall dictate.

On motion ordered, that this address be adopted, as the act of this meeting: and signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and presented to the directors of the Public Schools of this city and adjoining districts.

MATHEW CAREY, *Chairman.*

JAMES PATTERSON, *Secretary.*

Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1829.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania:

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Citizens of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, respectfully showeth:

That the experience of above three years in this city and Liberties, of two or three in New York, Boston, and other places in the United States, and of a considerably longer period in Europe, has proved, that no plan has ever been devised, calculated to produce a more benign effect on the morals, manners, and religious habits of the children of the poor, than that of Infant Schools.

That these schools take under their maternal care, children generally uncorrupted, when their minds are susceptible of deep and lasting impressions, and when, but for such institutions, they would be exposed to the contamination and corruption, necessarily attendant upon wandering through the streets, to which many of them are exposed by the unceasing devotion of the time of their parents to the toil of procuring a support for their families.

That parents are relieved by these schools from attention to their children during a considerable portion of the day, and thus better enabled to pursue their occupations, and children are rescued from the accidents to which they would be exposed, if running at large in the streets.

That at that important period of their existence, the seeds of good morals and religion may be so deeply and firmly sown in their minds, as to give an honest and honourable direction to their career through life, and render them a blessing, instead of a curse to society, as they sometimes are, when deprived of the benefit of early and proper culture.

That the increasing necessities of the poor, which often oblige them to put their children at a very early period, say at seven or eight years of age, to some employment to earn a living, greatly enhance the arguments in favour of Infant Schools.

That, to borrow the words of an energetic New York Memorial, "With regard to a great portion of the uneducated poor, *we must choose between the expense of their education, and the cost of their maintenance in our alms-houses and penitentiaries. It is proof enough of this, that small as is the proportion of those who cannot read and write, to our whole population,* THEY CONSTITUTE A MAJORITY OF OUR CONVICTS AND PAUPERS."

That, independent of the moral and religious culture children receive in Infant Schools, they make a progress in the elements of a plain education and of useful knowledge, which far exceeds the most sanguine expectations of the original supporters of the system, and is scarcely credible to any persons but those who have witnessed their advancement.

That this culture greatly facilitates their progress in the Public Schools, where, instead of beginning, as many of them now do, with acquiring simple spelling, and even learning the letters of the alphabet, they commence their progress, not merely possessed of those slight rudiments, but with minds stored with the knowledge of reading, the elements of arithmetic, and various other kinds of knowledge, and with habits of order and docility, of immense advantage in their career through life.

That the Infant Schools in this city and Liberties have been hitherto supported by the voluntary subscriptions of benevolent citizens, which, in their utmost extent, have proved greatly inadequate to the exigencies of the case, and extremely precarious; as many of our citizens regard them as objects, which, like the Public Schools, ought to be supported at the public expense, and therefore numbers have declined altogether to support them, and others have withdrawn the support they originally afforded them.

That although three times the number of schools in existence would be necessary, yet, during the course of last year, the

funds for their support were so completely exhausted, that it was seriously contemplated to shut up one of the schools now established in this city. This was prevented solely by borrowing money to pay pressing demands for debts necessarily incurred.

That the sum expended in the year 1826, for Public Schools in Boston, with a population little more than one-third of ours, and with a smaller proportion of poor, was, exclusive of the expense of new school houses, 54,000 dollars; and in 1827, 70,000 dollars.

That duly impressed with the importance of this object, your predecessors, in the month of April, 1828, passed an act empowering the Controllers of Public Schools to incorporate Infant Schools in their system, in the following words:

"Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said Controllers be, and they are hereby authorized, when they shall think proper, to establish schools for the instruction of children under five years of age, and that the money expended in the establishment and support of those schools, shall be provided for in the same manner as is now, or shall hereafter be directed by law, with respect to the other public schools."

That although thirty-two months have since elapsed, serious and apparently insuperable difficulties have hitherto prevented the Controllers from exercising the powers thus confided to them, on the plan designated by law.

That the admixture of very young children among those who are inmates of our Public Schools, of whom some are already corrupted, would have a pernicious effect on the former.

That to build separate schools at present for those under five years of age, would be attended with very considerable expense, and occasion further injurious delay.

That, moreover, females are far better calculated than males for the management and surveillance of such tender children.

That the Infant Schools already established and superintended by ladies of great respectability, benevolence, and zeal, with the most praiseworthy efforts, and with such a painful sacrifice of feeling in soliciting subscriptions, as nothing but the excellence of the cause, and the deep interest they felt in it, could have induced them to undergo, have been found to answer the purpose admirably; and, with moderate aid, may be extended to any degree commensurate with the necessities of the children of the poor in the city and liberties.

That the money to be thus expended in rearing the rising

generation of the poor in a state of moral and religious healthfulness, would produce a copious harvest of good to society, and could not in any other mode be more advantageously employed.

That, independent of the moral and religious results of this system, there cannot be a doubt that the relief of our citizens from petty depredations, the saving of the expense of criminal trials, and of the support of paupers in alms-houses, and criminals in houses of refuge and penitentiaries, would abundantly outweigh the necessary disbursements for this purpose.

Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully request, that you will amend the law of 1828, so as to direct the Controllers of Public Schools, or the County Commissioners, to pay the Directors of the Infant Schools of the city and liberties, the sum of about five hundred dollars for each school, containing not less than one hundred and fifty scholars, and in proportion for a greater or less number.

Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1830.

FULTON MEETING.

At a numerous and highly respectable meeting of the citizens, held agreeably to public notice, in the District Court Room, Philadelphia, on Thursday, August 30, 1830: Mathew Carey, Esq. was called to the chair, and P. S. Duponceau and John Vaughan, Esquires, appointed Secretaries.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered by the chairman and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the power of propelling vessels by steam against wind and tide, accomplished by the lavish expenditure, the extraordinary talents, the indefatigable exertions and the perseverance of Robert Fulton, has conferred inestimable advantages on this country, and on the world at large:

And whereas, the premature death of that great benefactor of mankind, prevented him from deriving those advantages from that discovery to which he was fairly entitled—and from making adequate provision for his heirs:

And whereas, such benefits as Robert Fulton conferred on this country, have a high claim on national gratitude:

And whereas, the hope which was fondly entertained, that Congress would adopt some measure in favour of his heirs, befitting

the honour of a great nation, has been disappointed by the rejection of a proposition to that effect, made during the late session of that body:

Therefore, resolved, that the plan now in operation in Virginia, of fixing a box in each steamboat plying in the waters of that State, to receive the contributions of liberal passengers, although inadequate to the merits of that great inventor, or the rightful claims of his heirs, appears to be the most feasible that can, under existing circumstances, be adopted, for in some degree discharging the debt of gratitude due to him and them.

Resolved, that a committee of superintendence be appointed, to raise by subscription a sum necessary to procure boxes for all the steamboats plying in the Delaware, and the other waters in this neighbourhood; and to prepare an address to steamboat travellers in this State, recommending this measure to their patronage.

Resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the citizens of Pittsburg, to convene a meeting for the purpose of adopting measures of co-operation in this benevolent plan on the Ohio and other western waters of the State.

The following named gentlemen were appointed on the committee of superintendence—Mathew Carey, Peter S. Duponceau, John Vaughan, Horace Binney, Thomas C. Cope, John Sergeant, Thomas Biddle, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Daniel Groves, Josiah Randall, Charles Penrose, James N. Barker, and Washington Jackson.

On motion of Josiah Randall, Esq. the following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that Nicholas Biddle, Esq. President of the Bank of the United States, be appointed treasurer to receive the donations to be made in aid of the above object, and to invest and disburse the same under the direction of the Committee of Superintendence appointed by the meeting, joined with such other committees of superintendence as may be appointed throughout the United States.

Resolved, that the Committee of Superintendence be invested with authority to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient to carry into effect the purposes for which this meeting has been convened.

Resolved, that it be recommended to the citizens of this commonwealth, to express their opinion on the propriety of a

donation in land or otherwise, being made by the legislature of Pennsylvania, for the benefit of the heirs of the deceased Robert Fulton.

Reply to the Inquiry, what Substitutes are to be found for the Use of Ardent Spirits for Persons in moderate Circumstances, and whether the Use of Wine ought to be proscribed by Temperance Societies?

There are substitutes enough to satisfy the taste of any man, in the moments of greatest hilarity—calculated to suit all classes of society, by the variety of prices, from sparkling champagne down to modest ale or beer, which last, with porter, cider, and perry, are within the means of persons in humble life. For hard-working people, molasses and water, acidulated with a little vinegar, make a very palatable and wholesome beverage, which, after a little use, becomes as agreeable as grog or toddy has heretofore been. Various other drinks, equally innoxious, might be prepared.

On the subject of wine, a diversity of opinion prevails among the members of temperance societies. Some are disposed to proscribe it altogether, almost as rigorously as ardent spirits, and abstain from it with almost equal scrupulosity. Its exclusion, however, forms no part of the constitution of any temperance society, as far as my knowledge extends. I have now before me three Constitutions—that of the parent of the whole, the American Temperance Society in Boston—the New York Society held in Albany, and that of the Pennsylvania Society, all of which are wholly silent on the subject.

The members of temperance societies generally, I believe, hold the use of wine to be perfectly within the rules. In fact, some publications, emanating from zealous friends of the cause of temperance, strongly recommend the culture of the vine, on the very safe ground, that drunkenness is almost, if not wholly, unknown in wine countries.

I was twelve months in France, and during the whole time never saw but one man intoxicated. Whether he was, or was not, an habitual drunkard, I had no means of ascertaining. I met and mingled with crowds of people coming from the Foire St. Germain, and other places devoted to hilarity, where every species of amusement was going on, and all were as perfectly

sober as if they were coming out of church. At that time, about fifty years since, common wine was sold, outside the Boulevards by which Paris is surrounded, at about a penny sterling per quart. When the vintage is abundant in France, I have understood, that persons bringing two empty casks to the vineyards, are allowed to take one of them away full.

Some idea may be formed of the cheapness of wines in France and Spain at present, from the fact that French port and Catalonia wines are sold in this city, by the cask, for 45 and 55 cents per gallon, after paying ten cents duty—together with all the heavy charges of transportation, commission, and with the profits of the importer.

Wine is, or, at least, has been, as cheap in Spain as in France —and the Spaniards are proverbial for their sobriety and temperance.*

These facts are conclusive in favour of wine.—And the instances are, I believe, equally rare, of intemperance produced by the use of cider, or malt liquors.

By drawing the cord too tight, hundreds, perhaps thousands of persons throughout the United States, whose standing and influence, if they joined the societies, would operate powerfully in support of the cause of temperance, would probably be prevented from entering the lists. And certain I am, that had a total abstinence from wine been originally announced, as a part of the system, it would have materially affected the success of the cause, if not paralyzed it in a great degree.

* Townsend who travelled in France and Spain, in 1786, states the prices of wines, at particular places in both countries.

At *Cette*—" Mr. Vages delivers wine a-board at 54 pesos the ton, which is 40*s.* 6*d.* sterling per hhd."—vol. iii. p. 292. This is seven pence per gallon.

Hermitage—" The best wine in this vicinity was sold last autumn, for *one half-penny [sterling] a quart.*"—vol. i. p. 72.

Valdepenas—" Wine is two quartos the quartille, or about four pence sterling per gallon."—vol. ii. p. 289. At this place he states that " a pound of bread cost eight quartos—and ram mutton, ten quartos." *A pound of ram mutton would therefore purchase five quarts of wine.* This speaks volumes for the connexion between temperance and the cultivation of the vine.

ERRATA.

Page 209, line 3—for Louis XVI. read Louis XIV.
Page 405, line 17—for 500, read 400.

THE END.

DEC 1 2 19